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Jane A. Waldo

THE

CITY OF THE MAGYAR,

OR

HUNGARY

AND HER INSTITUTIONS

IN 1839–40.

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BY MISS PARDOE,

AUTHOR OF

"TRAITS AND TRADITIONS OF PORTUGAL," "THE CITY OF THE SULTAN," "THE BEAUTIES OF THE BOSPHORUS," &c.

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IN THREE VOLS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

GEORGE VIRTUE, IVY LANE.

1840.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH RICKERBY,
SHERBOURN LANE.

TO

THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF CHARLEVILLE,

AS A

SLIGHT TOKEN OF GRATEFUL RESPECT AND AFFECTION,

These Volumes are inscribed,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In putting forth the present work, I have not sought to deceive myself with regard to the difficulty of the undertaking; and it is therefore with every consciousness of its many deficiencies that I give it to the public, reserving to myself, however, the conviction, that no suspicion can be thrown on the honesty of my intention, or the earnestness with which I have pursued my subject.

I much regret that I am debarred by my plighted word from the proud gratification of naming the several distinguished individuals to whom I have been indebted for information and assistance during its progress; for while it would have satisfied my heart to have done so, it would also have given importance to my volumes.

Thus much, nevertheless, I am not only free, but in honour bound, to state—that for any poli-

tical feeling or bias which may be detected in these pages, I am alone answerable—and the reproach which has already been advanced against me by a German writer, that I "mixed with men of all parties," should at least tend to remove from any of my personal friends the responsibility of my opinions.

I cannot, as a woman, presume to suppose that any weight can possibly be attached to my particular sentiments on such a subject; and I should not consequently have alluded to them here, had I not been anxious to prevent every suspicion that I had suffered myself to be made the mouthpiece of a party; as should such occur, it might cause annoyance to many to whose courtesy and friendship I am deeply indebted, and from whom it would be alike my pleasure and my duty to avert every chance of injury.

With this distinct declaration I commit the "City of the Magyar" to the kindness of that public to which I already owe so much gratitude.

London, October 1840.

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THE CITY OF THE MAGYAR.

CHAPTER I.

GERMAN INDIFFERENCE TO TIME—A NIGHT-JOURNEY—THE RECORD-COLUMN OF SCHWÄCHAT—POSON BY MOONLIGHT—THE ROTHEN OCHEN—HANDSOME WOMEN—HUNGARIAN FASHIONABLES—THE AU-GARTEN.

We reached Vienna on the 2nd of August, and only remained there three days, to recruit our strength, ere we once more pursued our journey to Hungary. We had determined to start early in the afternoon, in order to arrive at Presburg (Poson) by daylight; but travellers would do well to remember, that in Germany *time* is never considered, and appears to be of no value, and that, consequently, they must give at least eight-and-forty hours' notice before they venture to contemplate anything

so serious as a departure. We, having omitted to do this, of course suffered for our improvidence; and the sonorous bell of the scaffold-laden steeple of St. Stephen's had warned the pleasure-loving Viennese that the seventh hour had arrived, before we contrived to rattle through the hotel gates, in the suite of a postillion "bearded like a pard," and laced and feathered like a field-marshal.

It were supererogatory to add that we made the greater part of our journey in the dark; a fact which was, however, the less to be regretted, from the very flat and unattractive character of the country through which we travelled. The road lies along the right bank of the Danube; and fortunately the moon had fully risen ere we reached the village of Schwächat, the first point of decided interest; and as she flooded earth and water with her beams, she enabled us to distinguish the stone monument which was erected just outside the hamlet, to record the meeting between the Emperor Leopold and the brave Sobiesky, to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his city, and the safety of his empire—a monument rife with subject for meditation! How

little dreamed the gallant Pole that day, when covered with glory, he laid at the feet of the Austrian monarch the price of his high deeds, of the future which awaited his own land—of the high hearts broken, of the fond ties rent asunder, of the shivered weapons, and the desolate homesteads of dismembered Poland! That cold, silent, commemorative stone is a bitter homily on the ingratitude of princes.

The first view of Presburg was charming. The sky of a summer-night was above us,

"Darkly, deeply, beautifully blue,"

gemmed with stars, and radiant with moonlight. The rapid current of the river was rushing down past the bridge in its wild hurry, making the reflection of the line of lamps along the shore dance like meteors upon the ripple. The heavy outline of the ruined palace upon a height above the town, stood out, white and sharp, against the rich purple of the atmosphere; and the dark trees which fringe the opposite bank of the stream, cast a mass of gloom far and wide; but the streets were silent as we entered them, for the night was almost spent. The sharp bark of

a watch-dog alone welcomed us to the city of the Diet; and chilled by the cold air from the water, and requiring rest, we were glad to find ourselves under the roof of the Rothen Ochen, even although mere shelter was all that we could procure for some hours, our immediate accommodation being limited to a sofa in the corner of a deserted dining-room, where the fragments of the evening meal still disputed our possession.

There is something very ridiculous in such a dilemma as this, where fatigue and fastidiousness make fierce war, though the physical attribute is sure to be victorious; and thus it was that, despite tobacco smoke and the blended vapours of the many pungent and powerful ingredients which serve to make up a *foreign cuisine*, we contrived to sleep a fitful, capricious sort of sleep, until we were startled back into consciousness by the wild music of a bugle blown by a herdsman to collect the cattle about the city, and to summon them to the hills. Daylight was streaming through the windows; sounds of life were astir in the house; and ere long carriages rattled into the yard; loud voices answered each other in the galleries; and

heavy portmanteaus were dragged along the floors to the trucks that were to convey them to the coaches awaiting passengers for the railway. But on this occasion we had no pity to spare to the drowsy individuals, who, with a reluctant shiver, emerged from the portal of the Rothen Ochen: our only care was to expedite the movements of the light-handed chambermaid, and to escape from the unsavoury contact of the eating-room; an object which we achieved far sooner than we expected, and with a satisfaction known only to those who have kept an equally unwilling vigil.

Our letters were delivered by mid-day; for, owing to the sitting of the Diet, all the political aristocracy of Hungary were collected at Presburg; and four hours had not elapsed ere we received the visit of two of the Magnates, whose courteous welcome was so flattering, that, wearied though we were, we at once availed ourselves of an invitation for that evening to an Hungarian saloon, whose most striking feature was the extreme beauty of the women. I had been aware that four-fifths of the reigning belles of

Vienna were Hungarians, and had always supposed that they were also the beauties of their own country; but here I found myself surrounded by about fifty ladies, from among whom it would have been difficult to select half-a-dozen who would not have excited admiration at any court in Europe.

Nothing could exceed the urbanity and kindness of our reception; and, as we sat in the midst of the Countess S——'s guests, we soon learnt to forget that we were strangers. Our travelling plans were canvassed, and each had a hint to offer, a kindly office to volunteer, or a service to render; until we began to feel that what was so frankly and so gracefully tendered, must produce tenfold the gratification which we had previously anticipated; and to look forward to our temporary sojourn in the country without a single misgiving.

The social arrangements of the Hungarian fashionables, like those of the Viennese, appear to me to be the most rational in the world. No morning visits, by which the idle and the *désœuvré* contrive with us to fritter away the time of

their more busy friends, are countenanced among them. No lady receives company before the dinner-hour, which is usually two, or at the latest, three o'clock; and better still, the hostess is punctual, the repast is served at the given moment, and at five the guests are at liberty to take their departure in order to fulfil their evening engagements, leaving the lady of the house to enjoy the same privilege. Then commences the gaiety of an Hungarian day; visits are paid, new engagements are entered into, the promenades are crowded, and the streets are alive with equipages hastening to the public gardens, the theatres, or the *salons de reception.*

We had not been many days in the city, ere one evening, at sunset, we crossed the bridge of boats, and joined the gay throng in the Au-Garten, an extensive promenade, well shaded with fine old trees, and laid out with considerable taste and skill. Many of the walks are entirely overshadowed, and completely private, while some lie open to the sunshine, intersecting each other at every point, and giving glimpses of glassy glades, and rustic bridges flung over slender

threads of water, which during the winter months grow into rapid streams, and even inundate the lawns through which, in the warm season, they silently steal, almost unseen.

Nothing can be more delicious than this wilderness of grass and leaves: in one corner you come upon a bevy of happy children, whose light-hearted laughter rings out upon the evening air in merry music; in another you stumble upon a group of bourgeois, seated under an awning stretching from tree to tree, surrounded by their wives and little ones, and quietly enjoying their large goblets of beer, and their cherished meerchaums.

But the pavilion near the entrance of the garden, where it touches upon the river-bank, and commands the bridge, is the focus of fashion. There, happily, pipes "are not;" and there are gathered all the beauty and all the nobility of the city. The language of many a land is heard in turn; toilets are displayed which would grace Longchamps in its season of glory; dashing equipages, led horses, and servants habited in hussar uniforms move to and fro, awaiting the commands of their employers; the bridge is thronged with loungers; the long

shadows of the distant heights lie dark upon the waters; and the music of a military band gives life and gladness to a scene as gay and graceful as any upon which the moonlight can look down.

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY OF PRESBURG — PUBLIC BUILDINGS — THE STREETS—EQUIPAGES— MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS —A VISIT TO NOTRE DAME—AN IMPERIAL PRESENT —THE LYONNESE NUN—THE FAIR.

PRESBURG is not a fine city: its commercial quarter is narrow and closely crowded together; its squares, or *platz*, though numerous, are small; and its public buildings singularly unpicturesque. Even the Landhaus, in the Michael's Strasse, in which the Diet is held, and which is occupied by the Archduke Palatine, during his sojourn in the city, is perfectly unpretending in appearance; the only edifice of any "mark and likelihood" being the Archiepiscopal palace, the occasional residence of the Prince-Primate, and the *pied-à-terre* of the Emperor during his infrequent visits to Presburg.

The more open portions of the town have rather the effect of rows of houses built along the sides

of a road, than of regular streets, no attempt having been made to pave them; and in addition to the two inches of dust, or mud, according to the season, through which your carriage has to press its way, there is the extreme inconvenience of the drains which traverse them, and which are built of brick, and form tunnels heaving themselves up abruptly in your path.

But, despite this drawback, the streets of Presburg during the sitting of the Diet present a constant scene of amusement. The well-packed britscha, with its Austrian postillion, gorgeous in orange cotton-lace and soiled feathers, its dusty travellers, and sleepy horses, is succeeded by the light calèche from Pesth, drawn by the *Bauern*, or peasant's post, where the wild, wiry, eager animals, sometimes four abreast, and always rather tied than harnessed to the carriage, come rattling along the uneven streets; only to make way for the wicker waggons of the country people, laden with fruit, or corn, or other agricultural produce; and driven by a sturdy hind, whose broad-flapped hat of black felt is girdled by a wreath of worsted flowers, or adorned with a black feather, or a sun-flower, or a

bunch of marigolds. Women with gay-coloured cotton handkerchiefs bound tightly about their heads, and frequently barefooted, carrying wooden panniers at their backs filled with melons, or vegetables, pass every moment: smart grisettes with sandalled shoes, and their carefully arranged hair shining like satin in the sunshine, thread their way among them; horsemen gallop in every direction; fiacres filled with pretty faces dart round the corners; monks with robes of black serge, and priests in cocked hats, elbow ladies in lace shawls and British muslins; and amid the crowd whirl along the coronetted four-in-hands of the magnates, filled with noble dames, and gay with their plumed chasseurs.

With a population not exceeding thirty-five thousand souls, one sixth of whom only are of the Roman Catholic faith, Presburg contains no less than three convents and as many monasteries. The nunneries are those of *Notre Dame*, in which young ladies of noble family are educated at considerable cost, and which stands in the Theatre Square; so near indeed to the building itself that the music of the orchestra is frequently audible in

the silent dormitories of the nuns. It was founded in 1754, under the auspices of the celebrated Maria Theresa, but has never been entirely completed.

The Ursuline is a more general seminary, where, in addition to the regular pupils, a certain number of poor children are instructed gratuitously. It was formerly a Protestant church, and was only ceded to the community in 1672. The educational system of the sisterhood is simple and primitive enough, as they teach little beyond religious exercises and needle-work; but in many varieties of the latter they excel; indeed there is no country throughout Europe in which the mysteries of the needle are more fully understood than in Germany.

The last, and by far the most interesting female community, is that of the Elisabethans, or Sisters of Mercy, whose convent is one large hospital for the sick and the needy. Unlike similar communities in France and Belgium, the "Hospitalieres" of Presburg never cross the threshold of their home; and their whole life is a long vigil of watching and prayer, of toil and sacrifice. The convent

owes its origin principally to the Cardinal Emeric Esterházy, an ancestor of the present prince.

The monastery of the Franciscans is not only the handsomest conventual edifice in the city, but is also historically interesting, having been built by Andrew II., about the year 1224, then demolished by Ottocar, King of Bohemia, in 1271; and finally rebuilt by Ladislaus IV. in 1280. It is consecrated to St. John the Baptist; and in the chapel which is attached to it, it is customary when a coronation takes place at Presburg, to create several of the inferior Magyar nobles, *(nemes,)* Knights of the Golden Spur.

The convent of the Brothers of Charity is similar in principle and purpose to the Elisabethan sisterhood, being a vast hospital for the sick poor. It was projected and endowed by Baron John Maholány, in the year 1692, but finished and consecrated only in 1728;* while the

* The extreme usefulness of the Brotherhood of Mercy is best proved by the fact, that from the November of 1838, to the October of 1839, they received within their walls 1458 sick persons, among whom were one hundred and thirteen Lutherans, eighteen Calvinists, six united Greeks, and four Jews; and that they discharged 1338 of the number cured.

convent of the Capuchins was founded in 1718, by the same Count Emeric Esterházy, then Archbishop, who originated that of the Elisabethans.

I gladly accepted the invitation of one of my new and obliging acquaintance, whose daughter had a friend *en pension* at *Notre Dame*, to accompany her party on a visit to the lady abbess; and was much struck with her appearance, as we were ushered by a lay-sister into the small and scrupulously clean parlour, in which she was seated on a low couch, busily employed in knitting. When the Countess was announced she rose, and turned towards us, and I immediately discovered that she was blind; but a more benign and placid face I never looked on. Not a trace of impatience, not a vestige of the irritation which such a deprivation would excite in an ill-regulated mind, disturbed the inborn serenity of her fine but wasted features: she was pale, very pale, and her tall figure was almost gaunt, from its extreme attenuation; while the long fingers, which scarcely paused for a moment in their task, were perfectly fleshless; but the smile which sat upon her lip was evidently habitual, and there was a cheerful-

ness in the clear tones of her voice as she welcomed us each in turn, that seemed to scorn the weakness and the withering of her frame.

After a few moments passed in reciprocal courtesies, permission was asked for me to see the establishment, and immediately granted: a nun was summoned to officiate as *cicerone;* and accompanied by the young Countess, who was anxiously waiting to embrace her friend, I started off on my conventual pilgrimage. The most exquisite cleanliness pervaded the whole building: the long brick-paved corridors were waxed and varnished like a Parisian saloon; and ranged on either hand stood rows of presses of dark oak, containing the wardrobes of the noble pupils. We visited the classes, the refectories, the infirmaries, the kitchens, and the private chapels: stood for awhile in silence before the portrait of Maria Theresa, the founder of the house, while her high, and noble, and princely qualities received their meed of praise from our meek and gentle guide; and then passed into the choir to inspect the imperial offering of the Empress to the first abbess.

And well worthy was it of the admiration which we expressed, both as a work of art, and as an object of vertù. It is a cabinet formed of precious marbles and gems, of which the centre represents the Litanies of the Virgin, painted in miniature on a fine sheet of lapis-lazuli, about a foot in height and six inches in width. The figure of Mary is exquisite, as she floats upon the atmosphere of gold-studded azure supplied by the costly material on which the work is wrought; and the circle of angels above her is delicately wreathed, and finely contrasted with the bolder groups of saints and martyrs who are gazing from beneath upon her apotheosis. Two columns of verd-antique, and as many of jasper sustain this tableau, which is executed in a masterly manner, and is surmounted by a broad belt of gold, in which are set an immense opal, and two emeralds of considerable size. Above this is a second and smaller sheet of lapis-lazuli, on which are painted God and the Saviour, holding between them a crown of gold ready to circle the brow of the Virgin on her entrance into paradise; the veins of the stone being skilfully made to serve in the form-

ation of the coronal. Thence the cabinet takes the form of a cone; and is rich with precious stones set into the gold-work, a large ruby serving as the apex of the figure. The base of the tableau is similarly ornamented; and the whole thing is so beautiful, that I was profane enough to regret, as I stood before it lost in admiration, that it had not rather been presented to some public institution, where it might have been justly estimated.

In the refectory of the nuns hangs a fine picture of the Nativity, by one of the old masters: it is a noble painting, and I much grieved that I was not connoisseur enough to determine the name of the artist, which I sought in vain from the community. In an upper room we found an interesting collection of portraits of all the original pupils of the establishment, most of them of the time of Maria Theresa, stiff and formal, with their long stomachers and powdered hair; but many of them singularly pretty, particularly two of the Countesses Palffy.

In passing through the dormitories we were met by another of the sisterhood, a native of Lyons, who had been a member of the community of

Notre Dame for many years. Hearing us converse in French she at once joined our little party, and mistaking me for a countrywoman, she evinced such extreme delight, that I really felt sorry when truth compelled me to undeceive her. She was full of feeling and animation, and it was not without considerable emotion that she talked with me of France, of her native city, and of the fond ties which her vocation had torn asunder. She seemed to find a melancholy pleasure in dwelling upon every detail connected with her youth; and after traversing the cool corridors of the building, we strolled together into the garden, which is of considerable extent, when its situation, in the midst of a populous city, is remembered; and beautifully kept, but entirely devoted to roots, herbs, and fruits; flowers being a luxury prohibited by the rules of the order. A handsome fountain occupies the centre, surmounted by a figure of John the Baptist, nourished by "the waters of life;" and it is intersected by trellised walks enclosed with vines, whose rich clusters of fruit fell through the leafy screen, giving a profuse promise for the autumn.

Under this pleasant shade we seated ourselves side by side, and the gentle recluse spoke of the glorious river-banks of well-remembered Lyons, and of the fair scenery with which they are rife; while with true woman-feeling she admitted that she sometimes wept over the memory of the hours that she had wandered there, and the flowers that she had gathered. "But these are idle vanities;" she said sadly; "pleasures which make us selfish. It is enough to watch over our herbs as they blossom, and to know that their blossoming will grow to seed:—we should seek a future in all things."

"And yet;" I ventured to remark, "you must sometimes sigh for change."

"We shall have it;" said the nun, as she laid her hand upon my arm, and rose, as if to dismiss the subject; "Yonder door, young lady, is now the boundary of our freedom; but the day will come, and that not a distant one, when it will open to give us egress; and we shall travel far when we have passed it, for it leads to the grave, and that grave is the highway to eternity."

I only bowed my answer, for my tears choked me, and I could not utter a word.

On leaving the convent we drove into the fair, which was in full activity. What a contrast was here to the solemn stillness of the cloisters that we had just left! Peasants were seated on the ground beside piles of melons, heaps of vegetables, and baskets of flowers. Itinerant milliners were inviting customers to their flaunting booths, where gaudy-coloured handkerchiefs, and gaily-decked caps were hung forth in tempting array, to beguile the grisettes of their hardly-earned florins. Wandering harpers were serenading the merry groupes about the cafés and eating-houses; children were clamouring for toys and sweetmeats: and idlers were threading through the crowd, and increasing the confusion.

Snatches of song, and peals of laughter fell on the ear at intervals, and the world, with its bustle and its business, was once more about us: the thirst of gain, the vanity of dress, the pride of power, the insolence of rank, the servility of want—all were there in full and earnest action; and yet a strong man might thence have hurled

a stone into the midst of the cool convent garden, whence the world's care, and coil, and passion were shut out for ever:—truly the changes of human life are almost magical!

CHAPTER III.

THE ARENA—PRIMITIVE DECORATIONS—THE INCONVENIENCES OF SMOKING — THE "ILLEGITIMATE" THEATRE — MONOTONY OF THE GERMAN DRAMA — TWILIGHT—COUNT JOHN MAILATH AND M. DE HORVATH—PALACE OF POSON—FINE VIEW—THE BRIDGE OF BOATS—THE KONIGSBERG — THE LEGEND—THEBEN—FORTUNES OF THE FORTRESS—FINE LANDSCAPE —HAMBURGH—THE FOUNTAINS — PLAGUE-COLUMNS — SUNSET ON THE DANUBE—A FETE IN THE FAUBOURG—THE FESTIVAL OF ST. STEPHEN—THE PRINCE-PRIMATE.

ANOTHER very sensible arrangement of the Presburg fashionables, during the sultry season, is seeking all their public amusements in the open air; and hence the theatre, with its oil-lamps and close lobbies, is almost entirely abandoned for a summer dramatic *réunion* known as the Arena, and situated at the extremity of the Au-Garten. Nothing can well be more inartificial than the accessories of this *salle de spectacle*, which is roofed

by the blue vault of heaven, and carpetted by the green sward. The side-scenes are supported by acacias and other ornamental trees, which form a very pretty feature in the decorations: the space appropriated to the stage-business is extensive, and framed in by forest-timber; and the half-circular area occupied by the spectators is simply enclosed by boards guiltless of plane or brush, and divided very primitively into boxes, pit, and gallery, by means of the same material.

Half-a-dozen *loges*, three on either side of the proscenium, are rented by persons of rank, all the others being open to the public; and on every evening of performance, this place of amusement is crowded with people of all classes, eager for enjoyment.

The number of pretty faces collected together on a fine evening at the Arena are almost beyond calculation; and it is much to be regretted that they can be seen only through a cloud of tobacco-smoke; for the fact of its being an *al fresco* resort permits the unlimited use of the meerschaum; and with a German or an Hungarian such a licence implies its uninterrupted enjoy-

ment. Nor do they understand the *elegancies* of smoking, like the Turks, who exhaust the aroma of their chibouques without any accompanying habit which can excite disgust in their neighbours; for the effluvia of a German pipe is positively nauseous; and the scent hangs about your dress, and in your hair, long after the cause is removed, while the space immediately around the smoker is unapproachable for ladies who are at all particular as to where and in what they may chance to set their feet.

It is impossible to look without a feeling of regret upon a groupe of fine young men, all of them probably under twenty years of age, armed with pipes, tobacco-bags, and their appliances of flint and steel, puffing into the faces of the ladies beside them the fetid clouds of the "foul weed," with a nonchalant selfishness which should be foreign to their years; and stultifying, by their indulgence in this nauseous habit, the expression of some of the finest faces in the world. Nor, as I have already hinted, does the evil end here; in short, this vile habit is a blot upon the national character, which must be wiped off, ere he who

indulges in it can write himself a gentleman, whatever may be his birth or rank.

But to return to the Arena.—The exhibitions are generally what are understood among us by the term "spectacles," where horses, and other "illegitimate" actors are forced upon the scene, in order to produce effect; but on the evening when I accompanied the Countess —— to her *loge*, we were favoured with a German comedy of which the name has escaped me, but where the humour consisted in laying bare all the phantasies of madness; the stage representing the grounds of a lunatic-asylum, and every variety of hallucination being exhibited in turn. Thus we had an Ophelia, love-sick and lady-like; a Medea, frantic and desperate; an Alfred Highflyer, save that he affected insanity to cheat his creditors, rather than his mistress; a Maria Darlington, half mad and half malicious; an ebriated politician, and a moon-struck gardener; and each in turn raved, or sang, or lectured, or sentimentalized "to the top o' their bent," and greatly to the gratification of the audience.

A dance of savages was introduced into the

piece, which was cleverly executed, although a fastidious eye might have discovered among the *figurantes* a paucity of drapery, and an excess of ancle, which did not tend to improve its general effect.

I was forcibly reminded on this occasion of the impression produced upon my mind by the representation of the first German drama that I ever witnessed. I allude to the extreme length of the dialogues. A German audience does not appear to require action, but to be content with words; and the tenuity with which the most vapid scenes are drawn out, and the patience with which they are listened to, seem perfectly extraordinary to the uninitiated, after the comedies and vaudevilles of Paris and London, where, should the excitement of the drama flag for an instant, all is dissatisfaction and ennui.

It was curious to see the twilight slowly and softly gathering about the eager crowd in the Arena: and to listen, during any transient pause in the performance, to the quivering of the leaves on the tall trees above our heads. In fact, the whole scene was so new, so striking, and withal

so enjoyable, that I regretted the fall of the curtain (even despite the meerschaums and cigars) far more than I have done in a prouder pile, where, instead of the wooden chair with its rush seat which I had occupied in the Arena, I have reclined on velvet, and been screened by silken draperies.

In the course of the evening I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Count John Mailáth, the author of a statistical history of Hungary, and several popular brochures; and of M. de Horvath, a Transylvanian writer, who has not only produced Hungarian works, but even English verse; and whose knowledge and appreciation of Shakspeare say wonders for his fine taste and correct judgment.

The following morning we mounted the hill upon which stands the ruin of what was once an imperial palace. It is the remain of a square pile, with a tower at each angle; a mere formal mass of masonry, which is not picturesque even in decay. The date of its foundation is very ancient; and in the year 1766 it was considerably enlarged, strengthened, and converted into a for-

midable fortress. Its position is commanding, sweeping the Danube up and down for miles, and completely dominating the city, which lies at the foot of the upper esplanade. The view from the height is magnificent. Not a feature is wanting to complete the beauty of the scene: wood and water, and hill and vale, stately ruins, abrupt acclivities, laughing vineyards, and busy streets, meet the eye in one vast picture; and the capricious course of the Danube is mapped out by a curved line of light, far as the strongest sight can reach.

Close beneath lies the bridge of boats, terminated on the opposite shore by the shady Au-Garten, and sheltering from the strength of the current the swimming-school, a large, wooden building gaily painted, heaving lazily upon the surface of the water, and abutting on the city side near the tumulus called Königsberg; a large mound, protected by a stone balustrade, and approached by four paths, to which on the day of his coronation every King of Hungary ascends on horseback, with the sacred sword of St. Stephen in his hand; and from whose summit he makes the sign of the cross in the air with this

holy weapon towards each point of the compass, as he vows to protect the nation from all enemies, whencesoever they may threaten its safety or well-being.

I am not going to inflict upon you the legend connected with the palace itself, beautiful as it is; although I found it impossible to stand under the shadows of the building, without conjuring up bright memories of the heroic Maria Theresa and her Magyar chivalry; but if it be possible that this fine historical episode should have escaped your memory, you have only to look into that best of all hand-books, " Murray's Southern Germany," and you will there find wherewithal to refresh it.

Such recollections tend to shed a grace and a glory even over the formal ruins of the palace of Presburg; and the sentimental traveller will rejoice the more in their existence, when he learns that this vast pile, abandoned as a regal residence, was subsequently converted into a barrack; and that the troops weary of mounting the steep acclivity on which it is built, at each return from the city, set fire to it in the year 1811; since

which period it has been suffered to remain a monument of past greatness, and a cumberer of the earth. It must be conceded, however, that, from a point whence its outline cannot be clearly defined, it adds considerably to the beauty of the landscape.

But decidedly the most beautiful object in the distance is the castellated ruin of Theben, *(Dévén,)* crowning the summit of a rock a few miles up the river. This majestic remain is not exceeded, either in picturesque beauty or historical associations, by any other on the Danube, numerous and important as they are. The castle-fortress of Theben displays, even in its wreck, the vestiges of great strength and considerable extent, and possesses a peculiar interest, from the circumstance of its standing immediately on the frontier of Hungary, to which country it forms a chivalric and appropriate barrier.

It is impossible to stand on the bridge of Presburg, and to watch the sun setting behind the rocky height of Theben, without feeling a desire to explore its crumbling and time-hallowed coronal. The excursion is, moreover, a very pleasant

one, as the pretty village which nestles under the fortress and mirrors itself in the rapid Danube, is gained by the high-road; and the traveller consequently arrives without fatigue at the scene of his undertaking, ready to encounter the difficulties of the ascent.

The hamlet of Theben stands immediately on the confluence of the March with the Danube, and is a German colony, of upwards of one thousand inhabitants, surrounded by vineyards and orchards, and chiefly celebrated for its cucumbers and liquorice, and the noble avenue of walnut-trees by which it is overshadowed. The village consists of about two hundred houses, and the fortress-rock rises to the west of the main street.

The name *Dévén* is of Sclavonic origin, signifying Venus, or Virgin; and tradition states that, in the ninth century, the founder of Great Moravia, Swatopolk, (the Holy Host,) and his brother, Wratislaw, (the Ruler of Glory,) who is said to have built the city of Presburg, both resided there; and that the latter stood a siege in the fortress, in 864, against King Ludovic the German. It is also believed that the Romans had a post of ob-

RUINS OF CHEPSTOW.

servation at Theben, from the circumstance of Marcus Aurelius having died in the neighbourhood; but this is extremely apocryphal. Thus much, however, is certain, that when the Magyars invaded Great Moravia in 893, Theben was one of the strongest fortresses of that empire.

In 903 it was given up to the Hungarians, together with all the country between the March and the Waag, and thence remained in their possession, as did also Poson, both being, probably, the private property of the sovereign. Frederick the Fighter laid siege to Theben in 1233 without success; but it was taken by the great Ottocar King of Bohemia in 1272. Subsequently, the castle with its dependencies was granted to the Counts of St. George and Pösing, as appears from documents of the reign of Corvinus. It next fell into the possession of the family of Zapolya; thence into that of the Báthory's, who took the title of Castellans of Theben; and from them it passed to the Keglevitczs. In 1620 it was occupied by the followers of Bethlen; and Count Buquoy stormed and took it in 1621.

Theben was not, however, destined to termi-

nate its history in this defeat; for in 1650 the emperor Ferdinand III., granted the fortress as an inheritance to the Palatine Count Paul Palffy; and the will of the said Count having been regally confirmed, all the estate still belongs to the heir of that family, which gained its princely title in 1807.

The Turks endeavoured, when on their way to Vienna in 1683, to take it by surprise; but they were bravely repulsed by the garrison, which was composed of Hungarian and German troops. In 1809 the French wantonly blew up the principal fortifications for mere profitless amusement; but an admirable description of its previous appearance still exists, which was communicated by Baron Medniansky to the *Tudományos Gyujteméný* in 1820.

Having traversed the village, and refreshed ourselves with some of the delicious grapes produced upon its outskirts, we reached the base of the rock, which is composed of black limestone based on basalt, and is extremely picturesque from its jagged outline and caverned hollows. It is situated at the extremity of the lower Carpa-

thians, on whose granite masses stands the city of Presburg, looming out in all its regality in the distance.

The point crested by the fortress may be termed a precipitous cliff, and is not to be scaled, save at the expense of both fatigue and nerve. The crumbling pile is imposing in the extreme, when, the height once gained, the traveller looks around him upon the wilderness of ruin amid which he stands; and one lofty watch-tower, rendered inaccessible by masses of fallen rubbish, still stands in bold relief against the sky, as though it dared alike the touch of time and the fury of the elements by which it has so long been spared.

Theben, like many other Hungarian fortresses, was composed of an upper and a lower castle, of which the former was the most ancient, having been built on the gigantic foundations of the original Sclavonic erection. Its decay consequently commenced before that of the inferior fortress; and in the middle of the eighteenth century, the walls which had stood for upwards of a thousand years, were abandoned, while the lower castle continued to be partially inha-

bited, until the visit of the French in 1809. The outworks are still in tolerable preservation; and with some attention the traveller may yet trace in the interior, the remains of a fine projecting tower, two gates, and the dimensions of several halls or apartments, as well as subterranean vaults and passages, and a well, which appears to be of great depth. But in order to do this, and to secure the magnificent view afforded by the position, he must be prepared to encounter considerable toil, and some danger, as the crumbling stones constantly give way under the foot; and it cost us more than one fall to attain our object.

The height once gained, however, no one who loves to

"Look from nature up to nature's God,"

could possibly regret the price which had been paid for the privilege; for the landscape spread out before him is one of those whose memory can never fade from the mind. Northward stretches away a fertile plain intersected by the March, which, flowing from Moravia to pour its bright waters into the Danube, winds hither and thither

amid the dense vegetation, as though enamoured of its profusion. On its right bank stands the Schlosshof, once the retreat of the great Eugène, where he was wont to lose himself in dreams of the past, and in aspirations for the future. Still more distant rises the Salmhofe, where expired Nicholas of Salm, the heroic defender of Vienna against Soliman; where, five centuries ago, the proud Ottocar was defeated by Robert Hapsbourg; and where in 1809 the banner of the haughty Napoleon was veiled, for the first time, before the hero of Aspern.

Towards the east the horizon is bounded by the nearer Thebner Kogel, and further by the Carpathians; the links of that majestic chain being formed by a succession of rock and forest, on a scale of sublimity and grandeur which contrasts boldly with the plain that spreads out north and east beneath it. The Danube lies to the southward, entering Hungary at the rock of Theben; and as the eye follows its hurried course, the most striking object is the castle of Hainburg, whose dependent village is wholly concealed by stately and luxuriant foliage; and

Hainburg in its turn is remarkable as the place of refuge wherein Peter the Cruel lay concealed, and as the retreat of Margaretta of Babenburg, where she lived in solitude and obscurity, until the untoward suit of Ottocar recalled her to a world of which she had long been weary.

It was celebrated also in the time of the Romans; for here was situated the port of Carnunt, and the station of the Danube flotilla, while the Fourteenth Legion were quartered at Deutsch-Altenburgh; and here likewise were the palace of the Cæsars, and the Thermæ, or Baths: Marcus Aurelius wrote his "Philosophical Reflections" in the fortress of Hainburg; and various antiquities are occasionally brought to light by the plough or spade of the husbandman.*

There is food for a week's thought, in a visit to the rocky height of Theben.

The fountains are tolerably numerous in Presburg, but all, without exception, in very bad taste. There are other erections, however, throughout nearly all the towns in Hungary, which, to an

* Ender.

unaccustomed eye, are easily mistaken for fountains, but which are in reality Plague-columns,* very elaborately, and sometimes even handsomely ornamented. Two of these occur in Presburg; and that which stands immediately in the rear of the convent of Notre Dame, and nearly opposite the public promenade, is one of the first objects that strikes the eye of the stranger on landing from the Danube.

As I have already stated, these Plague-columns are common throughout Hungary; and it may be as well to explain that they are pillars of stone, variously designed, but all profusely decorated with figures of the Virgin and other holy individuals, among whom St. Roch is always conspicuous; and that they had their origin in the time when the Turks brought with them into Hungary the direful visitation of the plague, having been erected as propitiatory altars to the Deity, at the foot of which the priests and people offered up their supplications against the frightful scourge with which they were threatened. Fortunately they

* Called, in Germany, *Dreifalti Keitssäule*, or Trinity Column.

are no longer available for so melancholy a purpose; but they are still used as "prayer-stations," on occasions of religious festivity, when processions traverse the streets of the towns and villages; and they are at all times very ornamental, being universally gilded near the summit, and kept in excellent repair.

On a fine evening we ascended to the height beyond the palace in order to see a sunset on the Danube, and a glorious sight it was! Earth, wood, and water seemed to swim in one atmosphere of gold and topaz, and so magnificent a sky I never remember to have beheld: we were absolutely blinded with splendour; and then suddenly turning our faces eastward, we seemed to have been transported into a new world. The mountains rose darkly against the deep purple horizon, save where they were touched by the beams of the moon, which was pillowed for a time upon the crest of the highest of the range; while her broad line of light, after touching the topmost branches of the forest-trees at their base, streamed down upon the bosom of the flood, and turned its tide to silver. And all was so still upon that

vine-covered hill! The wind played languidly among the heavy grape-leaves, awakening a low rustling, which served but to make the silence more deeply felt; while the swift rushing of the mighty river at our feet was a fitting accompaniment to the scene on which we looked. I know not how long we stood there. We took no note of time; but the golden glories of the sunset had deepened into dusk, and the moon had risen high into the star-gemmed vault of heaven, looking down in brightness upon the mountains against which she had so lately leant, ere we turned to retrace our steps towards the city.

In order to regain our hotel we had to pass through the long, straggling, dirty, and unsavoury faubourg which extends from the foot of the height nearly to its summit; but on this occasion we scarcely regretted it; for it was the eve of a festival, and all was gaiety and enjoyment. Lights streamed from the casements of nearly every house, and the glad sounds of music met us at every turn, mingled with the laughter of the dancers, and the voices of men, singing in chorus the wild melodies of the country. We had passed in

a brief interval from romance to reality, and it was a reality so rational and so joyous that we could scarcely regret the change. Not a word of cavil, not a sign of discord did we hear or see. There was no staggering drunkard, reeling forth from the beer-house, to carry sorrow and regret to his own hearth—no brawling rioter marring the happiness of others—all was *home*-enjoyment. Every narrow floor seemed to be cleared, in order that each in turn might become the scene of festivity; and, altogether, I have seldom witnessed a spectacle of more perfect and unsophisticated happiness than the faubourg of Presburg, on that sweet summer evening.

On the morrow the festival in question was solemnized with great pomp at the cathedral. It was the fête of St. Stephen, the patron of Hungary; and nothing could be more gorgeous than the grand high-mass which was performed in the dim old gothic Domkirk. The venerable Prince-primate officiated at the altar, assisted by all the Catholic archbishops and bishops now collected together in Presburg; and the blaze of jewels and satins almost extinguished

the light of the thousand tapers about the shrine.

The church itself is small, but a fine specimen of ancient architecture; and above the altar, instead of one of those mediocre paintings which so often offend against good taste, and sometimes even against right feeling, there is a colossal equestrian figure of the saint in bronze, which, as the vapours of the frankincense curled about it, looked almost supernatural. The Kings of Hungary are crowned in this cathedral, a circumstance which naturally invests it with an added interest; and the very appearance of the lordly ecclesiastic who is now Prince-primate, is sufficient to temper down curiosity into solemnity. He is very aged, with long white locks flowing over his shoulders, which reminded me instantly of Prince Talleyrand; but there the likeness ceases, for the face of the priest is as different from that of the statesman as light from darkness: its expression is calm, and holy, and tranquil; and its outline perfect. I do not remember ever to have seen such a head. It is stated that the primate accepted his high office very reluctantly, and pleaded his

great age and retired habits as claims to exemption from so vast a responsibility; but as some men are born to "have greatness thrust upon them," his prayer was not admitted, and he is now one of the wealthiest as well as the most powerful personages in the country. The amount of his revenue is said to be enormous; and he ranks next to the Archduke-Palatine, on all occasions of state or ceremony.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BROTHERS OF MERCY—THE SICK-WARD—THE SUPERIOR'S CELL—PICTURES—SINGULAR ALLEGORY—THE HOSPITAL-SISTERS—THE CLOISTER—ALTARS—THE CHAPEL—THE PENITENTS—ST. FRANCIS OF LOLOYA—THE LABORATORY—THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT—THE BLACK VIRGIN.

NOTHING can be more admirable, either in principle or arrangement, than the convent of the Brothers of Mercy, to which allusion was made in a former chapter, and which we afterwards visited. We requested admittance from the community, which was granted without a moment's hesitation; and the door once passed, we were left wholly to the guidance of our valet-de-place; nor did we encounter a single monk during our circuit of the building. One side of a noble covered cloister stretching round a quadrangular space, well planted with trees, extends from the entrance of the house to the foot of the great stair; opening in

one direction upon the convent garden, where the convalescents wander at will to enjoy the cool shade, or the invigorating sunshine; and on the other, upon the principal ward of the hospital. A covered bier, for the transport of the sick, stands in this cloister; and the laboratory is situated at its extremity. The ward contains sixty beds, all cleanly and comfortably-looking; (about one-third of which were occupied,) and here and there, beside an open window, were grouped two or three of the patients, occupied in reading or conversation. Among them we remarked a young priest, so wan and meagre that his heavy draperies appeared as though folded about a skeleton; and so intent upon his breviary, which lay open upon his knee, that he scarcely heeded our entrance.

The laboratory was very neatly and carefully fitted up, and scrupulously clean; and from thence we ascended to the upper cloister, whence the cells of the monks diverge to the right and left. We had an opportunity of seeing the interior of only one of these, but it chanced to be that of the superior, of which the door stood wide open; and if it gave even a tolerable idea of those of the com-

munity in general, I can only say that the Brothers of Mercy have as good an idea of comfort as any set of monks I ever visited; for the accessories of the pretty little apartment into which we looked bordered upon the elegant; all was clean and fresh, and almost glittering:—the French clock and gilt picture-frames on the one hand, and the wax fruit and porcelain cups on the other, being arranged with a care and taste not usually apparent in monastic arrangements.

The walls of the galleries were crowded with paintings, some of them of the most revolting description, such for instance as a brother of the order praying over a putrid corpse; or a human being in the agonies of a painful death; while the constant recurrence of portraits and effigies of St. Francis of Loloya would have induced a belief that the convent was one of Jesuits.

There is an allegorical subject which is very popular, and indeed almost universal in the religious houses of Hungary, the sex being varied according to that of the community. It represents the exterior of a religious house, with the superior

standing on the threshold armed with missal and rosary, while a saint or angel is leading forward an aspirant for admittance, who carries his head in his hand, thus typifying implicit obedience as the leading monastic law; and the necessity which exists, that from the moment the portal is passed, the novice should cease either to think or act for himself. At the convent of the Brothers of Mercy, in order to make the lesson more locally impressive, the headless applicant is dressed in the full costume of an Hungarian Magnate!

From the monastery of the Brothers of Mercy, we proceeded to the convent of the Hospital-Sisters, where our summons for admittance was answered by the apparition of a pale, thin face behind a small grating, which disappeared as suddenly as it had become visible; but after a brief interval the door slowly opened, and we were courteously desired to enter. There was no affectation of concealment on the part of the three nuns who came forward to welcome us. They greeted the gentleman by whom we were accompanied with calm politeness, and led the way along their ex-

quisitely-kept corridors with a self-possessed and quiet demeanour more effective against impertinence than a thousand veils.

Nothing could be more perfect than the order of every thing around us; and we felt no disposition to smile even at the wax saints or tinselled virgins which crowded the thickly-set altars. And yet it must be confessed, that the ingenuity of the poor recluses must have rendered their hours of relaxation almost as laborious as those of their vigil, for such extraordinary specimens of invention as many of these altars presented I had never before even dreamed of. There was, among others, a representation of the garden of Eden, arranged amphitheatrically; groves of trees and parterres of flowers being intersected by walks, the whole formed of coloured papers and beads; animals of every description, and many perfectly nondescript, wandering on all sides; and near the summit of the acclivity Adam and Eve seated upon a couple of rocks; our first father stifly clad in the costume of the sixteenth century, with ruffles, bag-wig, and embroidered waistcoat, and flourishing a pastoral crook, garnished with

ribbons; and his fair companion robed in silk damask and high-heeled shoes, presenting him with a very tempting-looking apple, twice the size of her own head. Nor was this all—for in the back-ground, as if to complete the absurdity of the performance, was a distant view of the future Jerusalem!

All this was laughter-moving enough; but it was impossible even to smile in scorn as we followed on the steps of our humble-minded and self-sacrificed guides, and remembered their holy and pious lives; and thus, in perfect silence, we reached the gallery of their handsome chapel, and looked down through the closely-latticed grating upon the high altar, before which three of the sisterhood were at that moment performing penance; kneeling upon the marble floor with outstretched arms, and at intervals bending their foreheads to the earth, and kissing the cold stone.

It would be difficult to imagine what could be the nature of the sin committed by these meek and much-enduring sisters—a moment, perhaps, of indulged weariness, when the outworn frame yet ached with the anxious watching of the pre-

vious day; and the heavy eyes which had hung for hours over a dying bed, refused to open at the first summons of the day-break bell—a brief interval of delay in administering the healing potion of a suffering patient—or, it may be, more heinous still, a transient reluctance to perform some loathsome office in the chamber of disease—I thought of all this, and more, as I knelt down beside that jealous screen with my eyes fixed upon the three earnest penitents—Great God! how are we to hope who are not only in the world, but of it, if these should be rejected?

On our way to the sick-ward I counted the effigies of seven more Jesuits, St. Francis himself being one of the number; represented by a doll about a foot in length, stretched on a bier edged with point lace, and duly attired in a three-cornered hat, a serge cassock, and a pair of remarkably well-made black leather boots. The ward contained thirty beds, the whole of which were tenanted; and there was an air of at-home-ness in the arrangements, despite the wan and melancholy looks of the patients, which would at once

have proved that the hand of woman had been there, even had not half-a-dozen of the sisters been moving among the sick like ministering angels. I looked at them all attentively, and I could not detect the slightest expression of sourness or irritation on either countenance; and their whispers were so soft and low as they bent over the uneasy couches of the sufferers, that it was impossible to doubt that theirs was really the service of sympathy.

I have always loved the Beguines in every Catholic country through which I have passed; and the Hungarian sisters did much to deepen the feeling. The very appearance of these nuns was enough to inspire respect. They were so neatly attired; the profusion of linen which relieved their heavy dresses of serge was so pure, and smooth, and spotless; their manner was so gentle, their courtesy so spontaneous, and their smile so meek; while there was, moreover such an honest pride in their mode of explaining to us all their humane and beautiful expedients for solacing the sick, that it was difficult to believe that they had mistaken the true path of worldly usefulness; and

that they would have conduced more to the good of their species by mingling in the coil and cares of domestic life.

Their laboratory was singularly interesting: the lower range of jars being all of *rococo*, and some of them very costly. Upon the table on which the medicines were mixed, raised on a heavy pedestal of black marble, stood an effigy of the Virgin leaning over a sick man who lay at her feet, and to whom she was presenting a gilded pill of about the same dimensions as the apple of Eve in the gallery above. Whether this were intended as encouragement to the sick I know not, but the effect of the groupe was very ludicrous.

On leaving the Elisabethans we adjourned to the Franciscan convent, which is a stately pile, occupying the entire side of a large *platz*; and having a handsome chapel, with a fine tower at one extremity of the building; but this establishment possessed no interest for me like that of the admirable communities which we had just visited. The cloisters were crowded with tawdry saints and tinselled altars—the monk who attended us was fat and sleepy—and the only object

which he pointed out with any energy was a miraculous black virgin and child protected by an iron gilt railing, and so painfully ugly that it was a relief to turn away one's eyes. I shall not attempt to describe a lateral altar in this chapel, the subject being Our Lord rebuking the unbelief of St. Peter—for I am trying to forget that I saw it. Among all the monstrous and almost impious representations of the Saviour that I have met with during my wanderings, I never looked on one which shocked me more.

CHAPTER V.

INCONVENIENCES OF HUNGARIAN TRAVEL—PROJECTED IMPROVEMENTS — SPIRIT OF PARTY — ROADS AND BRIDGES—MODES OF TRAVELLING.

ALL persons travelling in Hungary must make up their minds resolutely to fling from them every feeling of hyper-fastidiousness, both as regards roads, horses, drivers, and accommodation; to brave delay, disappointment, and even danger; and to prepare themselves to do battle with inconvenience of every description; when, having so done, they will be certain to find natural beauty and interest enough to repay them for all the trials both of nerve and patience which they must inevitably encounter.

Thus, before Hungary can become a popular resort for the ease-loving tourist, it is evident that many and extraordinary reforms must be worked by the influence of men in power.

Among the improvements projected throughout the country, and in the constitution, the patriotic party, in their endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed peasantry, (an endeavour which nothing but a narrow and selfish policy could strive for an instant to weaken or contravene,) have sought to remove from the shoulders of the Bauern the burthen of keeping up the public roads and bridges; a tax which weighs heavily upon the labourer whose bread depends upon his daily toil, and which must ever be grudgingly and inefficiently paid, where his time, his strength, and his means, are alike expended upon what must ever be to him a very trifling benefit: his wicker waggon, sturdy oxen, or hardy mountain-ponies, rendering the nature of the path he traverses an object of indifference to himself; while to the Magnate whose duties or amusements call him from point to point of the kingdom, and to the traveller whose admiration of a beautiful country wiles him on through the mountain-passes, across the wide *puztas* or plains, and along the banks of the picturesque rivers of Hungary, the

suffering is great, and the annoyance almost sufficient to counteract all enjoyment.

In a country where nature has done so much, that she has left to man only the task of a judicious appropriation of her gifts, it is painful to witness such utter neglect of every effort to render them available. Mountains of granite and basalt, and forests of sturdy timber, offer facilities which it seems madness to reject; and nevertheless, the traveller may calculate his progress by a risk a mile, because the ancient and obsolete laws of Hungary have condemned the peasant to repair the public roads, and to keep up the public bridges; and that a short-sighted faction, jealous of innovation even where change must be productive of undeniable benefit, prefer to peril their own lives, to forfeit their own comfort, and to render their country a sealed book for all foreigners save those possessed of a decided spirit of enterprize, rather than to loosen their grasp from what they are blind enough to consider their "privileges," a term prostituted indeed when it tends to degrade their country, and consequently to lessen its importance in the eyes of other nations.

The compulsatory labour of the peasant, setting aside its tyranny and injustice, becomes, in the particular circumstance of which I am now treating, a perfect blot in the landscape. Every individual flings down upon the road the portion of rubbish, (for it is often nothing better,) which he is forced to contribute; and he naturally deposits there the material which he can the most readily obtain; and thus the line of road generally resembles a piece of rude patch-work, without method or continuity.

Nor is the matter mended where the rushing streams, falling from the heights, irrigate the lower lands, and wind in a thousand shapes of beauty among the vegetation; for where bridges of stone have been flung across them they are mouldering away; the parapets are in ruin, and their fragments cumber the bed of the stream; while the weather-stained statues of saints and Jesuits which still exist beside them, seem nodding to their fall, and ready to be prostrated by the passage of the next vehicle. The bridges of wood are very little better, save where the volume of the river, and the traffic on the road oblige

a greater degree of care; but these, even in the immediate vicinity of large cities, are merely formed of planks laid transversely along stout beams resting on wooden piles, and unsecured by a single nail, quivering and creaking beneath the wheels of the carriage in a manner by no means agreeable to the unaccustomed traveller; while in many instances where the thoroughfare is not so great, they have been suffered to fall altogether into ruin, and the only mode of passing the water is by the nearest ford, whose rocky and unequal bed taxes at once the strength of the vehicle, and the courage of its occupant.

In the mountain-passes, where the ill-constructed and worse-kept roads are left totally without protection; and where a false step would precipitate a carriage to utter destruction, which might have been provided against by a stout rail, or a rough wall, it were vain to comment, when the same cause has been powerful enough to operate so prejudicially upon level ground replete with means and materials for improvement; but until this serious impediment is removed, Hungary can never become what it deserves to be—the resort

of all who love the bold and beautiful in nature—for few are the fashionable tourists of the present century who would submit to pay so heavy and inconvenient a price for the gratification of penetrating into its recesses.

I write earnestly on this subject after a ten days' journey; an undertaking by no means formidable under other circumstances, but really serious where such unnecessary difficulties as those just enumerated are superadded to the fatigue of the traveller.

While therefore the public-spirited patriots of Hungary are striving to render the Danube, that great highway of Europe, what it indeed should be, a magnificent mean of opening out the treasures of their country to other nations, let them not neglect the by-ways which should equally tend to allure strangers to its mountain wonders.

There are four distinct methods of progress through the country, but even here the traveller is not free to make his own selection, and cannot consequently form any preliminary arrangements tending to diminish his difficulties. There is the regular government (Austrian) post, to be found

only on the direct high-roads; the *Bauern*, or peasants'-post, running between Pesth and Vienna, and not to be procured in any other part of Hungary; the press-post, or *Vorspann*, which compels the peasant to furnish horses to the Hungarian nobles, and by their order to strangers who have sufficient interest to obtain the "assignation," as it is termed, on sight of which the *richter*, or chief constable of each village, is bound to forward the traveller to the next station, on payment of a certain sum to the peasant; and the light wicker waggon, looking like a huge basket mounted on wheels, in which the peasantry themselves travel, built up with hay, and totally without protection against the vicissitudes of the weather. This last is, however, as will at once be apparent, the *dernier resort* of the tourist, who can be compelled to it only by utter want either of money, or other means of transport.

The inconvenience of the regular post consists principally in its partial action, which, to render it available, limits the wanderings of the traveller to the direct roads from city to city; for the fact of its frequently requiring the delay of upwards of

an hour merely to change horses, is such a comparatively trifling annoyance that it is scarce worthy of mention. The Bauern, as I have already shown, is *nul*, save on one line of route; and with the Vorspann, privilege as it is, bad horses, filthy drivers, and stoppages beyond all possible calculation must be submitted to with philosophy, for there is no remedy; threats, bribes, and entreaties being all equally unavailing.

CHAPTER IV.

A JOURNEY—PESBURG AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD—PEASANT-PASSENGERS — SARFO—A BURIAL-PLACE—LEOPOLDSTADT—THE VALLEY OF THE WAAG—SZUHA—THE VORSPAUN.

We started for the mines of Schemnitz, (Selymecz,) by the route of Tyrnau, (Nagy Szombath,) Trentschin, (Trencsin,) and Kremnitz, (Körmöerbánya,) in order to cross a portion of the Carpathian chain, and to traverse the beautiful valley of the Waag, one of the most picturesque portions of Hungary.

We were provided, through the kindness of several of the Magnates, with letters to the owners of the different chateaux beside which we were to pass; and by the Lord High Treasurer with an order to the authorities of the several cities upon our route, to show and explain to us every thing remarkable or curious which they might contain;

as well as a Vorspann,—our only alternative in many portions of our mountain-journey.

The faubourg of Presburg, and its undulating and vine-planted environs were soon passed; and the plain on either side of our road spread wide away, covered with stretches of corn-land recently cleared, where the plough was already at work in preparation for the winter crops; patches of Indian-corn, waving its feathery petals in the wind, refreshed the eye with its soft green tint; and mimic forests of beech and elm stood out in rich relief against the bold frame-work of the distant hills by which the view was bounded on the left hand. The soil, however, appeared for the most part, poor and ungenerous, yielding a scant and reluctant return for the care and labour of the peasant; in many places the wheat had evidently failed altogether; and fields of potatoes, looking as though a blight had passed over them and stunted their growth, were of constant recurrence; and contrasted meagrely with the vigorous but unequal vegetation of the hemp, which formed the staple, and apparently by far the most promising produce of this portion of the plain; while im-

mense herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, tended by men clad in mantles of skin called *bundas*, with the hair turned inwards, and the leather worked with coloured thread in fantastic figures, gave life and movement to the landscape.

Trains of waggons and droves of oxen for the markets of Vienna passed us continually, and never without a courteous salutation from the driver, who doffed his wide-brimmed hat as we crossed his path, and uttered the usual peasant greeting of "God be praised!" Country carriages drawn by one horse, and worked with a centre-pole and a trace were also frequent, and of extremely awkward appearance from the peculiarity of this one-sided method of draught: which was, however, explained to us as tending to decrease the difficulties of the mountain-roads through which they passed, the horse being thus enabled to work on either side of the pole as he could best find footing, and to adapt himself to every variety in the rocky path.

At the miserable hamlet of Sárfo, where we stopped to dine, the country suddenly assumed a sterner and more sterile character. The heights

closed in upon us, and below the village ran a brawling stream, tossing and tumbling over the ledges of rock and fragments of stone which had fallen from the mouldering bridge by which it was traversed. Four dilapidated and bleak-looking statues tottered over the parapet; and a dreary burying-ground occupied the nearest hill on the right hand, its black crosses looming out among the briars and thistles that bristled above the graves. Hence we commenced a steep ascent over so rude a road that in order to escape fatigue we preferred to mount it on foot, and were repaid for our toil by encountering a party of pretty Hungarian Jewesses—(when young, decidedly as lovely women as can anywhere be seen) whose bright black eyes and glittering teeth were well suited to the smiles with which they greeted us.

From the crest of the hill the view was cold and ungenial; and although every foot of ground unoccupied by timber was cultivated, there was a cheerlessness in the wide landscape, which the frequent dykes edged with marsh-willows did not tend to dissipate; but meanwhile the mountain-chain on either hand was gradually growing into

grander and loftier beauty, and draping itself in a mantle of that full, rich, purple vapour which Robson loves, and knows so well to paint.

Wild fruit-trees grew at intervals by the road-side; and at length they give place to avenues of poplar, through one of which we had travelled a considerable distance when we diverged to visit the fortress of Leopoldstadt; a well-kept, and well-garrisoned strong-hold of the Austrian government, where every thing bespoke the very perfection of military order and discipline. It is an hexagonal fortification, strongly walled and moated; with extensive outworks, and an ample supply of field-pieces and heavy ammunition. It is approached by a double drawbridge, and a deep archway guarded by two iron gates. The square of the citadel is very spacious; and contains, besides the handsome house of the commandant, a magazine, an hospital, and a fine church.

Leaving Leopoldstadt on our left we crossed an angle of the valley to reach the Waag, and here nothing could be more lovely than the scene spread out before us. The river was traversed by

one of those primitive-looking wooden bridges already described; beneath which its beautiful but capricious current was pouring along with almost the strength and rapidity of a torrent; and whirling past the huge patches of sand which encumber its bed as though it spurned such frail impediments. Several mills, worked by the rush of water, were in full activity, their large wheels flinging off sheets of sparkling liquid into the sunshine; and groupes of women collected about masses of stone at the edge of the stream in which they stood knee-deep, were busily engaged in washing linen, to the accompaniment of their own voices, as they sung in chorus a wild national melody.

Immediately before us the lesser chain of the Carpathians, with a range of minor hills nestling at their base, shut in the glittering stream and the fair plain, as with a belt of sapphires and emeralds; and one of the lordly chateaux of the Eudödi family, perched midway on a green acclivity, gleamed out like a huge pearl in the sunshine; while its terraces and gardens, its glades and

woods, lay in rich confusion above and about it, until they swept down to a noble sheet of water lying along the very edge of the road.

From this point the valley perfectly justified the eulogiums which had been passed upon it by our friends at Presburg. The encircling hills were dense with vegetation; mountain-rills glanced among the rich crops; and clumps of forest-timber, principally beeches and elms, gave variety to the scenery; and thus it was not without regret that we commenced the ascent of a steep height which brought us to the miserable little town of Szuha, beyond which no post-horses were to be procured, and where we were consequently reduced to the alternative of the Vorspann; an admirable expedient for saving money at the simple cost of time, patience, and comfort.

Our first essay was, nevertheless, far from unfortunate, for we only waited an hour and a quarter, thanks to the authority by which we travelled: and we amused ourselves during the interval by admiring a host of pretty faces, grouped about the doors of the cottages, and remarking that the presence of a squadron of cavalry quartered in the

place had produced a very favourable effect on the toilettes and tempers of the village beauties.

Here then our cocked-hatted and orange-laced postillion was exchanged for a skin-clad, broad-brimmed peasant, whose elf-locks floated in the wind; and our sleek, well-fed, deliberately-paced horses for four wiry little ponies tied to the carriage with ropes, and looking as though they had already done a stout day's work before they were pressed into our service. And this was doubtlessly the case; as the Vorspann is peculiarly inconvenient to the peasantry during the spring and autumn, when they require all their cattle in the fields; and have no alternative save that of withdrawing from the plough or the corn-press the horses which they are compelled to supply to travellers.

Nor is this the greatest inconvenience of the press-post; many of the places through which you pass being what are termed "free villages," having a right to withhold horses when they chance to be more profitably employed; and in these cases you are compelled to remain stationary until the *richter* dispatches a messenger to

the next hamlet, to procure a supply; when their owner has to start off to catch them in their pasturage, or to unyoke them from their labour; and it is by no means an uncommon circumstance for the traveller's enquiry as to the probable period of his detention, to be quietly answered by an assurance that the relay cannot possibly arrive for his carriage under four or five hours; a matter of small importance to a German, whose life appears to be divided between waiting and being waited for; but by no means agreeable to English tourists, who have accustomed themselves to regard time as a very considerable item in their existence.

CHAPTER VII.

TYRNAU—THE CATHEDRAL—CHAPEL OF THE INVALIDS—THE TUN OF TYRNAU—A STORM—THE MARKET—DEPARTURE.

From Szuha to Tyrnau the country increased in beauty and fertility; scattered villages gave a more human interest to the far-reaching plain; the mountains rose more loftily against the sky, here and there crested by the mouldering turrets of some feudal castle; stone pillars were to be seen on all sides, bearing figures of the virgin, or yet more frequently that of a crucifix-laden Jesuit, seeming like the guardian-spirit of the spot; no parapetted bridge was without a similar ornament; and small frescoes, rudely but intelligibly designed, decorated the exterior of many of the cottages.

With the aspect of the city itself we were disappointed, though the approach to it is beautiful,

its strects are narrow and rudely paved, and its walls crumbling into dust. Its square, situated immediately beneath the windows of our hotel, was encumbered with wooden booths which destroyed the effect of the elaborate, and really handsome plague-column that occupies its centre, and above which the domed towers of the ancient cathedral loomed out against the deep purple sky; and the whole character of the place was dull and lethargic.

Having dispatched our courier with the letters of introduction with which we were furnished, we soon ceased to be strangers in a strange land: and ere two hours had elapsed, were already "lionizing" the city.

Our first visit was to the Cathedral which, although small, is interesting from its antiquity; it is built in the round or Byzantine form, and is upwards of six hundred years old. It is numerically rich in monuments, but none of them are very curious, the most ancient not having existed more than five centuries. They are principally effigies of the several bishops who have enjoyed the see of Tyrnau, the

most remarkable being that of an ancestor of Prince Esterhazy, by whom the church was founded; and the most chivalric that of an Hungarian knight whose name has escaped me, but who distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks, and now stands clad in complete armour, leaning upon a weapon formidable enough to hew down a giant, in a wide niche on the left-hand side of the principal altar. The whole of these monuments are built upright into the walls, and give a character of solemnity to the edifice which would otherwise be wanting, as the space is too contracted, and the lights admitted on all sides are too broad to satisfy the imagination which seeks depth and repose in these antique temples of religion.

There is not a single painting throughout the Cathedral worthy of a second look; and the lateral altars are squalid despite their tinsel. The *Schatz-Kammer*, or treasure-chamber, however, is curious. It is a low, vaulted apartment at the west end of the building, strongly bolted and barred, and amply furnished with iron-guarded chests secured to the stone-work of the church;

but their contents have been removed to Gran, the residence of the Prince-primate, and the yawning treasure-holds are now cold and void.

The pulpit is magnificent, being formed entirely of brass, wrought superbly in relief; and the Chapel of the Virgin, immediately opposite the treasure-chamber is singularly beautiful. The face of the altar is of beaten silver, raised in fillagre on a back-ground of rich gilding; the figure of Mary stands in the midst of a glory of the same material; and upon her head rests a coronal, evidently the offering of some wealthy votary to her shrine, in which grapes, vine-leaves, and ears of corn are wreathed together in a garland of burnished silver and pearls with the most exquisite taste and skill. The *ex-votos* which decorate the walls of the chapel are innumerable, and are all formed of the same precious metal; and the drapery which veils the altar is of crimson velvet laced and fringed with gold.

The Sacristy and Chapter-house contain nothing remarkable; and were it not for the splendour of the Virgin's Chapel, the Domkirche of Tyrnau would deserve mention only as a striking

and oriental feature in the landscape, with its zinc-covered domes gleaming in the sunshine, and flashing back its beams.

Nor is the cathedral the only sacred edifice in Tyrnau erected by the piety of an Esterhazy; for the most remarkable structure in the city, now known as the Chapel of the Invalids, was also built by an ancestor of the present prince.

This graceful pile was originally an appendage to a convent of Jesuits, the residence of the head of the order in Hungary; and is of the most beautiful and graceful proportions. Its ceiling is finely painted in fresco; and its splendid altar, wrought in golden arabesques, is of Venetian manufacture. We were told by the officiating priest who politely accompanied us through the building, that the walls were at one time covered with gilding, and decorated with pictures by the ancient masters; all of which were, however, removed when the "Brothers of Jesus" were succeeded in their tenancy of the adjoining pile by the brave veterans of the Austrian army, who have now found a haven of rest in the hospital of Tyrnau.

About eighty disabled warriors, of whom the

majority are Poles, have replaced the sleek and subtle monks; and there was something strangely affecting in the sight of these fine, old, war-scathed soldiers wandering through the cloisters, and carrying their crutches with a look of honest pride, where the heaviest burthen once borne had been a missal or a rosary.

The chancel of the chapel is now very appropriately ornamented with military escutcheons; and immediately in front of the high altar is situated the burial-vault of its princely founder, marked by a large flat stone, indicating that his dust, and that of his wife, moulder in peace beneath.

The Tun of Tyrnau is celebrated throughout all Germany, and that of Heidelburgh is compelled to "hide its diminished" bulk beside it. It is indeed a stupendous receptacle; and the wine-vault in which it stands is no less remarkable for its immense size, as may be implied from the fact that the usual stock of wine fills eighty thousand barrels of very capacious dimensions. The Tun itself, known as "the Palatine," and embellished with carvings of the Hungarian arms, and a figure

of the Archduke Joseph, contains two thousand, one hundred, and ten barrels. Avenues of huge vessels are ranged along, marked on one end with the number of the barrel itself, and on the other with that of the quantity of wine that it contains. It takes half-an-hour to make a circuit of the cave: and a railway has been constructed, to facilitate the transport of the merchandise.

Mr. ——, the wealthy and courteous owner of this far-famed lion, paid us a visit within three hours after our arrival in the city, to invite us to inspect it. His fine establishment is situated about a quarter of a league from the town; and among the various strangers who have made a pilgrimage to the Tun of Tyrnau, are Don Miguel, during his wanderings over Europe, and the Duke de Ragusa.

Infinitely more to my taste, however, was the glorious spectacle afforded by the rising of the moon over the towers of the Domkirche; it was at the full, and the whole space beneath the venerable pile was soon flooded with light, while the quaint gables of the surrounding buildings flung their fantastic shadows across the street, making a huge

mosaic of ebony and silver. Every outline was clearly and sharply defined against the sky, and the city looked rather like a vision than a reality; but this beautiful effect endured not long: fleecy vapours began to detach themselves from the distant hills about which they had been draped since sunset, and to scud along over the deep purple vault like swift-winged messengers of evil: a haze gathered about the moon, and gradually hung a dark veil before her glory; and we soon felt that we had approached the mountains as the faint murmur of far-off thunder broke solemnly upon the silence, and the wizard lightning began to shimmer over tower and dome, and to glance from casement to casement.

When the storm burst it was awfully magnificent! Peal upon peal rattled and echoed in the heavens; the sheeted vapour which filled the street with the momentary light of day was traversed in every direction by fiery threads of intense brilliancy; and the tremendous rain rebounded from the pavement as though it lacked space to fall. At length, subdued by their own violence, the elements subsided into rest; nor were we surprised

on awaking the next morning in order to pursue our journey, to see the heavy clouds rolling away like dark spirits before the rising sun, which was streaking the sky with gold, and seeming to lay bare the treasures of the ore-laden mountains.

The noise beneath our windows was tremendous. It was high market; and there stood or nestled the dripping peasant-women among the kennels formed by the storm through the rude paving of the square, or under the eaves of the houses; watching over their poultry, sheep's-milk cheese, and vegetables, in patience, but not in silence, for such an utter confusion of tongues I never before imagined. Many of these poor creatures were literally half-naked; their single petticoat of coarse white linen clinging about their bare legs in the most comfortless manner, and the wet streaming both from their matted hair, and the cotton handkerchief beneath which it was bound. Others wore strong Hessian boots, like the men, reaching nearly to their knees, and met midway of the leg by a short garment of linen or serge; while they were further protected against the

weather by jackets of cloth or skin similar to those of their husbands.

The men, meanwhile, presented as wretched an appearance as the women, with their loose linen drawers secured by a string about their waists, and their short vests drawn on without any intermediate raiment, and at every motion of the body revealing their state of seminudity; an uncomfortable species of costume general throughout the mountains; to which during the winter months is added the *bunda* which covers them entirely from the throat to the feet.

Nothing can be a more perfect index to the extremes of the Hungarian climate than the costume of the peasantry. During the summer their covering is barely sufficient for decency, and often entirely composed of linen; but winter no sooner arrives than they are muffled from head to heel in fur; with their large, flapped hats meeting the collar of the cloak so as scarcely to leave them breathing space, and making them look like a moving mass of skins.

The staple trade of the market was poultry, which abounded; principally chickens about the

size of pigeons, as they are generally eaten in Hungary; ducks, and geese. Turkeys were less plentiful. Eggs and white cheese were also abundant; while the hard cabbages and young carrots were piled up in stacks like hay. Beautiful-looking flour in sacks, protected from the damp by coverings of skins, filled several waggons. Whether the storm had operated prejudicially I know not, but there was certainly a far greater proportion of sellers than buyers; and as we drove away at six o'clock, four-fifths of the shivering women were still crouching round their baskets, although that is a late hour for the German or Hungarian housewife to be abroad in quest of the day's provision.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOUNTAIN-SCENERY — HUNGARIAN HAMLETS—TOBACCO — PÖSTÉNY — BETZKO — HISTORICAL DETAILS — TRENSCHIN — COURIERS AND COMFORTS — NEWS — DAINTIES VERSUS DIRT — THE COMMITTEE-ROOM — THE ILLÉSHÁZYS — THE CASTLE—ITS ORIGIN — THE CHURCH — THE FUNERAL-VAULT — THE WELL — THE DUNGEONS—VIEW FROM THE TOWER—RÁKÓCZY.

NOTHING could be more beautiful than the effect of the past storm on the mountains by which the plain beyond Tyrnau is almost entirely encircled. Wreaths of vapour were hanging about and above them, on which the risen sun played in a thousand tints of variegated light, while the deep rifts and chasms nearer to their base yawned black and cold; and the rank vegetation of the valley swept far away on all sides, forming another contrast eminently pleasing. I use the term *rank*, for although nothing could be more green and fresh than the appearance of the crops and

grass, it was easy to perceive that the soil which produced them was only temporarily redeemed from inundation, and made available during the summer months; a great portion of the plain being evidently flooded during the rainy season, by the overflowing of the river and its tributaries; as well as by the water-courses, which might be traced down the sides of the mountains. None save the rudest attempts at drainage had been ventured, and these were dykes dug by the peasant to irrigate his crops, although the greatest facilities offered themselves on all sides; and there was every demonstration that the necessary labour and outlay would have been repaid tenfold.

Occasionally a ruin on the abrupt jut of a height, hung over the precipice beneath, and lent a new feature of beauty to the landscape; while at intervals long avenues of poplars marked the approach to some more modern chateau nestled at the base of the mountain-chain. Villages, large and cleanly-looking, their wide streets bordered by the gables of the whitewashed cottages, separated each from the other by a yard or garden, became frequent; and the tall spires of their churches

soaring above the beeches and acacia-trees, relieved the eye on all sides.

There are few countries in which the hamlets are so cheerful in appearance as those of Hungary: the houses are externally of the most scrupulous cleanliness; the whitewash is continually renewed, and the window-frames are generally painted in bright green. The doors are set deeply into the walls in order to throw off the rain, which in these mountain-districts pours down like an avalanche; and the receding arches being neatly formed, give a quaint and comfortable look to the dwelling. A peep into the interior is equally promising; the white or chintz curtains at the windows, the coverings of the beds, and the cooking-utensils are all bright and cleanly-looking, but I never ventured on a closer examination; having received a hint of caution not to be disregarded, in seeing the maternal or fraternal care with which members of the same family, seated on the sunny side of their cottages, relieved each other after the Spanish fashion, of certain uncomfortable colonists.

The habitations of the German peasantry in

these villages may generally be distinguished from those of the native Hungarians, from their converting the enclosures of their cottages into gardens, where gourds spread their golden fruit and broad green leaves over the fences, which are formed of withes neatly wrought in basket-work; and dahlias, sun-flowers, and other gay-coloured blossoms flaunt in the sunshine, interspersed with vegetables and fruit-trees; while the yards of their neighbours are reserved as receptacles for their agricultural implements; a small plot of ground beneath the windows being, however, in almost every case, appropriated to a crop of tobacco, which produces a very pretty effect with its long rich leaves, and white lily-like blossoms.

Although a considerable quantity of tobacco, and that of very fine quality, is grown in Hungary, it is entirely in the hands of the peasants, as its culture demands too much care, and yields too small a return, to render it an object of speculation to the nobles; who, with their hemp, corn, and particularly wool, realise a greater profit at a less expense of labour and outlay.

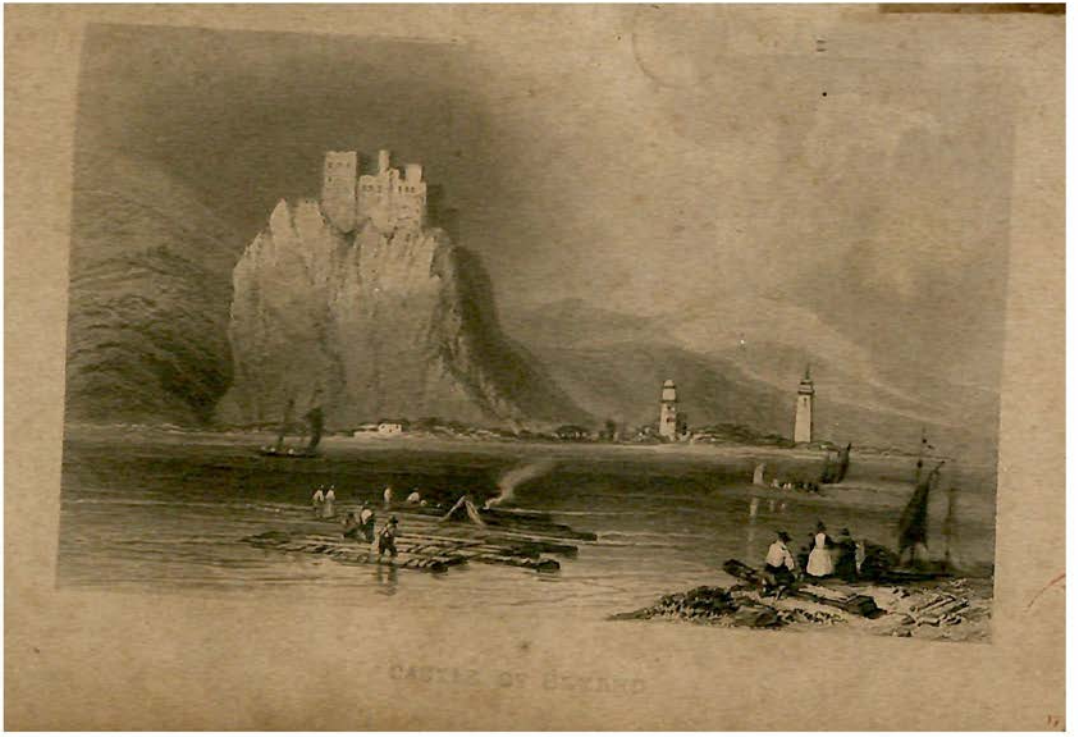
Our first halting-place was Pöstény; a pretty

village with one fine street, a handsome posting-house, and a tolerable hotel; much frequented during the season for its mineral baths, which are celebrated for chronic diseases; and we were fortunate in not having arrived a fortnight previously, when the whole place was under water to the depth of four feet, the heavy rains having swollen the river, and caused it to overflow its banks. Another inconvenient proof, if any had indeed been wanting, of the necessity of a well-organized system of drainage.

After passing Pöstény we were fairly among the mountains; and gloriously beautiful was the scene on all sides. The woods grew into majesty, clothing the sides of the lesser heights with elms and beeches, and feathering their crests with stately pines; while the higher range beyond cut with their bare and ragged peaks in deep purple and brown against the horizon. The channel of the Waag, a lovely river which gives its name to the valley through which we were passing, had widened, and the white masses of sandstone that cumbered its bed glistened in the sunshine; while feudal ruins, perched on abrupt heights, overhung it; among which, that of

the ancient castle of Betzko, crowning a mass of calcareous rock jutting into the very bed of the stream whose waters curled about its base, was the most conspicuous, as it cut sharply against the sky; its towers and battlements cincturing the crest of the acclivity like a mural crown, and throwing their long, dark shadows far across the river channel.

This castle is not only interesting as a picturesque feature in the landscape, but also from its great antiquity; historians claiming as its founders the Maranich Sclavonians, from whom it is stated to have been taken by one of the generals of Arpád. If this tradition be received, therefore, it existed before Stibor's Polish followers established themselves as an Hungarian colony; and even before the Asiatic Nomades became Europeans. It has been called by the old writers Blundus and Bolondvar, as well as Betzko; and is said to have been in 1228 in the gift of the crown, by which it was ceded to Jacob, Bishop of Nyitra, in return for his having built the Benedictine Abbey of Szkalka; and afterwards secured to him by an act left by Bela IV. in 1266. It then passed into the hands of Matthew Chak,



when he became lord not only of the fortress of Trenschin, but also of the territory along the two shores of the Waag, in the fourteenth century; but after his death it reverted to the crown; subsequently became the property of an Hungarian bishop; and remained in the hands of ecclesiastics, through every national convulsion and baronial feud, until Nicholas Banffy, after fighting for Louis I. in his war against the Neapolitans and their blood-stained and self-widowed queen, (not content with having been one of the first to unsheath his sword in the good cause,) with rare devotion concluded his service by presenting to the King, in the year 1379, the castle of Betzko.

In 1388, from some circumstance now unknown, it was in the gift of King Sigismund, who presented the fief to the famous Stibor, in gratitude for the zeal and devotion which had preserved to him the throne of Hungary; and by its new master it was enlarged, embellished, and so thoroughly remodelled that it became almost a new edifice, and may be considered as his own erection. By him were added those lofty and well-proportioned towers which, even in their ruin, at-

test their original symmetry and beauty; and when it passed into the possession of his son, its magnificence and strength were the glory of the province.

From the second Stibor, Betzko descended to his only daughter, but the King did not admit her claim; and she became so impoverished by her vain resistance to the royal authority that she at length retained nothing beyond the privilege of occupation; of which she was compelled to avail herself, until, by her marriage with one of the noble family of Banffy, she recovered her rights as Suzerain, thanks to the gratitude due from the crown to that brave race in 1437.

After some other vicissitudes Betzko became the property of six different individuals, and its palmy days were over. Each sought profit rather than honour from his share of the domain; and it was rapidly perishing from neglect, when in 1690, Jacob Kasko, then Bishop of Nyitra, built a church and a Franciscan convent within the walls; and the ancient baronial strong-hold became a place of piety and prayer, until in 1729 it took fire, and was never again made habitable.

At the base of the bare and sterile rock on which it stands, there is a plateau, whence the river has receded, and where the houses of the vassals formed a hamlet communicating with the castle, by two draw-bridges, which still partially exist. A village stands there yet; but the towers of a church, and the roofs of some of the principal houses, are all that can be seen above the vigorous fruit-trees which girdle the rock. *

Unfortunately, as we commenced the ascent of the mountain leading to Trenschin, the storm whose remains had produced throughout the morning those beautiful effects of light and shade which had so much delighted us, once more gathered up its strength; and it was amid thunder and rain which compelled us to close the carriage, and to forego even a glimpse of the landscape, that we drove into that ancient and interesting city.

But our troubles were far from being at an end when we passed under the antique gateway, after traversing the river Waag, which at this point al-

* I am indebted for these interesting historical details to the Baron Medniánsky.

most washes the walls of the town; for the accommodations of the Schwartz Adler (usually the first hotel everywhere throughout the Austrian dominions) having been inspected, and declared to be totally beneath trial, we were compelled to remain in the carriage until those of the half-dozen "guest-houses" of the place had undergone a similar inquisition; when as a "forlorn hope" our four wearied horses dragged us into the narrow, dirty *porte-cochère* of the Golden Swan, and we were ushered into a couple of closets opening upon a frail wooden gallery overlooking the yard; where we had the advantage of seeing our own luggage unpacked, and of hearing the brawling of our noisy, conceited courier, whose tongue was ever more ready than his hands, with the half-dozen inn-servants who were slowly obeying his orders, after having duly, in true German style, reasoned upon each.

We were not, however, destined to depend wholly on this unsavoury and uninteresting "look-out," for our amusement during the continuance of the storm; for about half-an-hour after our arrival, a waiter entered the room, and

with infinite ceremony presented to us a couple of numbers of "Galignani's Messenger," bearing date January 17th and 18th, 1839. Our first impulse was to laugh heartily at the absurdity of the thing; but there was something so *bizarre* and unlooked-for in the idea of reading an English journal in the Carpathians, that we fairly betook ourselves to a perusal of the stale facts therein detailed, with a relish which they probably failed to excite when we originally learnt them.

In justice to the Golden Swan at Trenschin, I must also, unwomanly as I consider the habit of recording breakfasts, dinners, and suppers to be, for once permit myself to remark, that to those with whom the *cuisine* is of more importance than cleanliness and comfort, this mountain-hotel will always possess an interest, as its *chef* is a master of his art; and the most fastidious *gourmand* would find no reason to hesitate over his *ragouts de gibier*, or his *omelettes au confitures*. As for myself, I would willingly have given the supper, and the tokáyer to boot, for a clean floor and a bed into which it would not have been rashness to intrude;

but as there was no liberty of choice, I consoled myself by looking through one of the windows at the stately ruin of the castle of the extinct Counts of Illésházy, which from its rocky eminence lowered down over the city; and marvelling whether the clouds which draped it, and which as they clung about its base, gave it rather the appearance of being built in air than on earth, would furl themselves by the morrow, and permit the intrusion of human footsteps within its mouldering recesses.

A letter of the Baron M——, the Supreme Count of the province, soon procured for us a visit from the Vice-count, to whose obliging attention we were indebted for much local information; and under his guidance we started the following morning at eight o'clock, to visit the committee-room in which the municipal meetings for the county are held, and one of which was to take place that day an hour later. It is situated in the town-hall, and is a fine apartment deeply bayed, of which the floor is occupied by a half-circular table surrounded by chairs, and covered with law-books and writing implements; and the walls adorned with portraits

of the Illésházys, for many centuries Supreme Counts of the county of Trenschin.

To judge by these portraits, they must have been a fine chivalrous-looking race; and the gradations of costume from the half Roman-like armour, to the oriental-seeming kalpag and caftan, and thence again to the costly and elaborate Hungarian uniform, was highly interesting. The last of the race looks truly the feudal chieftain; and it is impossible not to regret as you gaze again and again upon the high brow and soldier-like port of the noble Illésházy in whom the race went out, that he should have had no son to continue so brave a line.

The town of Trenschin has a privileged law-court, and not only civil but criminal cases are judged there; subject, however, to the decision of a higher tribunal. The town-hall itself is very ancient, and its well-worn stone stair bears testimony to the perpetual traffic to which it has been subjected for centuries; though it is to be doubted whether the feudal chieftains of Illésházy ever condescended to permit any appeal beyond their own lordly will, while they inhabited their rocky strong-hold.

Having taken leave of the Vice-count who was to preside at the meeting of the comitat, we soon after commenced the laborious ascent of the mountain, accompanied by one of his servants, and the old *tourière*, who had charge of the ruin.

The rock is a mixture of sand-stone and blue marble, thickly veined with white: the latter, however, only occurs occasionally, and very capriciously, not extending for any distance, but starting out in large irregular masses, and flinging off the vegetation which flourishes on and about the remainder of the surface. The ruin itself is at once the largest and the most ancient in Hungary. It is even pretended that no certain tradition of its origin now exists, and it is supposed to have been founded by one of the Roman tribes who located themselves in the neighbourhood. It is also asserted that it originally occupied only the table-land which occurs mid-way of the rock, the extreme summit having been crested by a single tower for the archers; and that at that period the river flowed at the foot of the height, while the town or village was seated on the opposite side of the fortress; an inference simple enough, from the

position of the church, which although once beyond the walls of the castle, and appertaining to the town itself, now forms a portion of the fortress, and is enclosed within the outworks.

As the Waag wore its way towards the opposite shore, cleaving through the more yielding soil of the plain, and receding from the mountain-barrier of which the rock of Trenschin forms an abrupt and salient angle, the houses of the citizens gradually grew against the hill-side, until they finally formed themselves into streets along the edge of the stream. In like manner, contingencies compelled the lords of Illésházy to enlarge and extend their stronghold, until not only was a second and upper fortress built upon the crest of the rock, but the towered and turreted wall took a wider sweep, and the whole height became one mass of bristling masonry.

Thus the foundation of a portion of the lower castle with a stretch of wall extending on either hand, broken at intervals by its small round towers, loopholed and castellated, with their vaulted dungeons and spiral stairs, are of Cyclopean architecture; and huge masses of the native

blue marble are embedded in the mass which forms them—others again are conspicuous for the Roman brick, united by that iron-like cement of which the secret is now lost; while much of the edifice is of mixed style and material, and might belong to any age, were it not that time has pressed his mouldering fingers upon all, and stamped on every part the hoar grey signet of undeniable antiquity.

The ruin of Trenschin is indeed, without exaggeration, truly magnificent! Its vast extent, its commanding position, and its irremediable decay invest it with a charm, for which language has no words; and if I stooped to gather the clustering wild-flowers which carpeted the base of the crumbling towers, it was not because I could trifle beneath the long shadows of their departed strength, but rather that I felt awed by my own insignificance, and experienced a relief in looking upon these more accustomed objects. And what flowers they were which had struggled into life upon that rugged rock! the deep blue larkspur, the wild anemone, clusters of mignionette, and a thousand other delicate blossoms, all as bright

and as beautiful as though they had been sown in a genial soil, and tended by lady-fingers:—but I must be a little more methodical, or I shall never be able to describe half the charm of the feudal castle of the Illésházy.

The first object of interest is the church to which I have already alluded, and to which a covered way has been made from the town for the convenience of such of the pious as desire to offer up their prayers in this ancient edifice. It is small, and but sparingly decorated; but the light which penetrates through its narrow, closely-paned windows is scant enough to imbue the building with a solemn indistinctness which tends at the moment to make you forget the want of space; and in a lateral chapel you are brought face to face with one of the first Illésházys, who swayed the feudal sceptre of Trenschin. The monument is in black marble, and the "baron bold" stands out in strong relief, resting upon his good sword as lovingly as though it were part and parcel of himself.

Under the large stones of the chapel repose several of the females and relatives of the family,

but the ashes of the chiefs themselves lie in a vault beneath the high altar, and accessible from without. We consequently left the chapel, and the keys of the charnel-house having been procured, descended a flight of stone steps into a square subterranean, wherein stand about a dozen large and three smaller sarcophagi, or chests of oak, strongly clamped with iron. But, alas! even the stern metal could not conceal the presence of decay, and the effluvia was frightful; a heavy opaque moisture had curdled upon the wood, which was perishing beneath its influence; the locks and handles of the huge coffins were rusted into yellowness, and the dense heavy atmosphere clung about us like a drapery.

I gazed for a moment on the humiliating spectacle—there lay the chieftains of a proud race, some dead at a ripe age, full of years and honour—others faded in their infancy, blighted blossoms of a noble stem, but all mighty in their time—and there they were mouldering, musty, miserable cumberers of the earth they had once trod so loftily.

I could not bear it long—one searching look sufficed—a look which swept the narrow space,

and took in all its loathsome accessories; and then a rush up the damp stair carried me once more to the surface of the earth, and the pure air of heaven was again breathing upon my forehead, and fanning my heavy eyelids—a gasp or two relieved my labouring chest, and I was glad when I was once more breasting the steep face of the rock.

The outer gate of oak plated with iron, works upon a mass of the blue marble, to which I have already alluded; and having passed it, you find yourself on what was the foundation of the original castle, encompassed by tottering walls and crumbling towers, and treading upon a greensward enamelled with blossoms. The wall skirts the very edge of the rock, which descends almost perpendicularly into the valley; and traces are still apparent of many a goodly hall and lady's bower, where the clang of the falchion and the twang of the lute must have once been alike familiar—now, they lie bare and silent—"The spider has spun his web in the palaces of the Caliphs, and the owl has built her nest in the towers of Afrasaib."

In this portion of the ruin the most perfect remain is that of the well which once supplied the fortress

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with water. It reminded me forcibly of the one at Carisbrook Castle, being similarly worked, although this of Trenschin is much deeper, being dug five hundred feet into the solid rock; and as, in obedience to the *tourière*, I hurled down a stone, and listened to its hollow reboundings until the splash with which it fell upon the surface of the water met my ear, visions of years long gone—of my childhood and its pleasant hours, grew upon me among the fastnesses of the Carpathians; and had it not been for very shame, I could have wept!

A rise of a hundred yards, an abrupt turn through a dilapidated archway, and then a steep descent of some fifty feet, brought us to the entrance of the dungeons; and I found myself standing in the centre of a group of cells about four feet square, and each lighted by a barred aperture which permitted the external air to circulate freely on all sides. I believe that I must have looked my surprise, for the *tourière*, as if to terminate at once an astonishment which I could not conceal when I remembered the dungeons of the Chateau d'If, those of Ratisbon, and many other prisons in use in the "good old times,"

as it is the fashion still to call them, quietly led me on to a circular pit dug deep into the earth, and half hidden by the shadows of the building, and said calmly; "You cannot see the rest, for the stair has been blocked up—this was the only entrance;" and none ever found a way out."

There was food for a year of thought in those few words—I stood upon the brink of a yawning grave—a living tomb—and who should tell how many, had writhed themselves to death amid the flinty bowels of that silent rock! It was a fearful speculation; and when as I emerged from the dungeons, I struck my foot against what proved to be a fallen stone bearing the escutcheon of the Illésházys, which had probably once surmounted a gateway, but was now half choked amid the rank herbage, I scarcely brooked the sight of the pompous blazonry: for my soul was sick as I reflected that perchance the very pride which had erected that trophy, had also doomed a fellow-mortal to a death of agony within a hundred paces of the same spot.

From this point the ruin becomes more intricate, and the learned in such lore might yet de-

cide on the strength and purpose of each several mass: but to me it was but one magnificent whole—and tower and bastion, buttress and keep, counterscarp and covered way, the mere separate features of a great and sublime remain of by-past power. I stood upon every ledge, I explored every nook—not an archway but I passed, not a crumbling stair but I ascended, until I was called to order by the rest of the party, who fortunately for me remembered that the day could not endure for ever, and that we had yet to mount to the summit of the square tower which crests the heights.

When the lordly family of Illésházy became extinct, the property, according to the Hungarian law, reverted to the crown; and the castle of Trenschin and its dependencies have been purchased by the Baron de Sina, the wealthy Greek banker, who has erected a wooden gallery on the exterior of the principal tower, for the accommodation of visitors, who may thence look down not only upon all the detail of the ruin, but also over one of the finest landscapes which the earth can offer.

I shall never forget my sensations as I clung

to the upper rail, and gazed about me! Immediately beneath lay the rock, bristling with buttresses and walls, and masses of fallen or falling masonry, with here and there a wild, half-unrooted forest-tree springing through the piled-up stones—beyond stretched the city, sweeping along the bank of the picturesque Waag, whose wide channel gleamed like a *via lactea* athwart the plain; the domes and spires of each church and convent cutting against the horizon, and the tide of human life flowing through the perfectly-defined street. Stretches of woodland, fields of grain, and roads traversing each other in every direction, gave a character of inhabitation on one side, while on the other rose the dark mountain-chain where no vestige of man nor of man's works broke upon the stern sublimity of the landscape; but all was misty, mysterious, and silent.

And yet with what associations were not those mountains rife, for their recesses had been the stronghold of the bold Transylvanian prince, Rákóczy, the leader of the last Hungarian rebellion, whose wild hordes had spread their tents amid the rifts and chasms which were now only filled

with vapour and storm-clouds, their most fitting occupants. Nor was this all; for we were assured that every revolt which had broken out in Hungary from the earliest times had germed in these mountains.

Amid their lofty and cloud-clasped retreats, the hardy peasants of the Carpathians had dreamed wild dreams of a liberty which should render them once more free Magyars under a Magyar king; and they had whispered the suggestions of their own excited hope to the inhabitants of the lower lands, until the wish grew into a want; and what the imagination had painted, the stout arm was ready to grasp by force.

The last attempt had been a bold one; and required only the signet of success to have recorded it upon the page of history as one of the noblest efforts of human daring. Rákóczy was in the prime of manhood, eminently handsome in person; the husband of as fair a woman as ever perpetuated a line of princes, and the father of a son in whom his high race was to be continued. He had wealth, honour, and a proud name; but a foreign thrall

fettered his native land, and the links of the galling chain of stranger-rule pressed heavily upon his generous spirit: he vowed to rend that chain asunder, or to dye it yet deeper in his own blood—the vow was registered, and fearfully fulfilled—the patriot would have been crowned with laurel in the hour of his success—the rebel writhed for awhile in captivity, and ultimately perished ignobly in exile to expiate his defeat!

As our able *cicerone* pointed out the direction in which Rákóczy had encamped his peasant-army, I half fancied amid the movement of the mists that I saw the desperate band crowding round their leader, and preparing to rush upon the rock-seated citadel; to whose possession they attached such importance that they besieged it repeatedly during the space of five years, (1707-11,) and so exhausted the stores of the garrison at one period, that they were driven to feed on dogs, cats, mice, and other vermin; when fortunately for the famishing soldiery, they were relieved by Heister, who raised the siege by removing the seat of war to Sarosser, and finally

conduced very considerably to its total termination.

So important indeed did the rebels consider the occupation of this mountain stronghold, that they were accustomed to declare that, "when they were masters of the Castle of Trenschin a Diet would be convoked, Joseph the First declared to have forfeited the Hungarian throne, and the interregnum terminated by the proclamation of Rákóczy as King."

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY—ANTIQUITY OF THE FORTRESS—CHANCE AND CHANGE—A ROYAL MARRIAGE—A REGAL FUNERAL—FIRE AND FAMINE—ULTIMATE DECAY.

SINCE the period of Rákóczy's revolt this feudal ruin has mouldered away in peace, like a warrior passing tranquilly to the grave, covered with honourable scars, and full of glorious memories. But tradition when treating of the history of Trenschin Castle is not satisfied even with these; and as its original foundation was too early to be satisfactorily ascertained, its chroniclers indulge in problematical inferences savouring strongly of romance. In one topographical work I found the following passage on the subject, with which I was considerably amused, and which was translated literally for me by a friend:—

"Once mistress of a county, and worthy rival

of the first castle in the land, who hast produced within thy walls a race without whose deeds many a page of national history would have remained unwritten—as the mountain in three steps rises above the Waag-girt city,-three castles enthroned upon it, unite for the same object, like the three circles of a tiara. Upon the highest stands a quadrangular tower which must have seen Roman cohorts; and may have been erected by the command of their leader Terentius. The construction of these strong masses is not unworthy of a Roman work; but it is uncertain whether the said Terentius led the hosts of Valentinian, of Julian the traitor, or of the great Constantine; and consequently whether he ever set his foot in this place."

Is not this speculative theory inimitable? And does it not perfectly prove that the worthy historian knew just nothing at all about it? Thus then, as the other authorities, although somewhat less imaginative are quite as uncertain, we must e'en be contented with the *fact* that when the Magyars had destroyed the powerful dynasty of Swatopluck, they found the Castle of Tren-

schin (already a stately fortress) in the occupation of the Matahanish Sclavonians; and availed themselves of it as a frontier fort, and as a safe receptacle for the plunder obtained during their distant forays; until the introduction of Christianity began to change the Asiatic freebooter into a feudal chieftain, and to direct his thoughts from foreign rapine to the blessings of his own hearth and home.

Thus we find the robber-hold converted into a Christian dwelling; but it was yet to undergo many and varying fortunes. The Bohemian Duke Wratislaw, taking advantage of the dissension between King Solomon and his cousin, in which the whole kingdom was involved, invaded Hungary, laid it waste as he advanced, and directed his march upon Trenschin; but ere he had succeeded in possessing himself of this coveted stronghold, the Arpáds became reconciled, united their armies, and compelled the Duke to save himself by flight; and thus Trenschin Castle continued to be regal property until the termination of their reign; and to be governed by the Counts of Arpád. But when Andrew the Heirless,

(the third of the name,) ceased to exist, his death occasioned a direful commotion throughout the land. He had left no successor, and the strong arm of power beat down the law; while the ready hand of the mighty wrenched away the possessions of the weak, and each held what he could seize.

In this struggle Trenschin fell to the lot of Peter, of the race of Chak; who having firmly established himself within its bristling walls, left to his son Matthew the comparatively easy task of subjugating the immediate neighbourhood, in which he persevered until he had added to his possessions the two shores of the Waag, from his own castle-hold to the confluence of that river with the Danube; an accession of territory so considerable as to constitute a separate province, known even to this day as that of Mathauslaus; and thus this prince, created Palatine by the "Shadow-King" Wensel of Bohemia, found himself sufficiently strong to make head for full ten years against Charles the First, although that monarch was supported by the majority of the kingdom. But the bloody day of Rozgony (1312) at length

prostrated the banner of the Count of Trenschin, which had been so long unfurled in the fields of triumph; and thenceforward Charles was enabled to call himself indeed the King of Hungary.

The judgment of confiscation, long before pronounced, but hitherto a merely dormant law, was now enforced against the vanquished; adding to the splendour of the crown, giving to the monarch a consequence which extended beyond the frontiers of his own kingdom, lending weight to his decisions, and investing them with an authority which was freely and readily admitted by other princes; particularly in the case of the rulers of Bohemia and Poland, whom he sought to reconcile when a disagreement had arisen between them respecting their reciprocal dignatorial rights, and who agreed to repair to Trenschin for their adjustment. It is true that John of Bohemia alone appeared in person, Casimir having been detained by a revolt of the Lithanos, but he was represented by an ambassador, and the pacificatory treaty between them was signed in the great hall of the castle on St. Bartholomew's day, 1335.

Thus rapine, war, and peace each made their home at Trenschin for a time: and to add to its glory, King Lewis, the "fond father of his country," was wont to pass many hours of his royal leisure within its walls, looking from its tall towers upon the mountain-chain that hemmed him in; and shedding joy and happiness on all who crossed his path.

To this good king the town and castle of Trenschin owe many of their immunities; and the blessing of his frequent presence doubled their value. He selected Trenschin as the rendezvous of his army in the year 1362, when the vengeance-fraught expedition through Moravia, then governed by the Emperor's brother and ally John, was determined upon; and the spot where the articles of the friendly alliance with Duke Rudolph of Austria were drawn up. It was here too that Lewis was found by the Pope's Legate, when he was sent to retard the outbreak of the war until the reconciliation with Casimir of Poland was accomplished.

Just before his death, Lewis granted the fortress of Trenschin to his treasurer George Be-

bek, in order that its proceeds might afford to this high dignitary the means of filling his office with becoming credit; and to him succeeded the valiant Waywode Stibor as Count of Transylvania, who in his despatches to Matthew Vorbild signed himself Count of Trenschin and Lord of the Waag; the most considerable portions of the country on both banks of the river having been ceded to him by a grant of King Sigmund, as a recompense for his brave exertions against King Ladislaw of Durazzo, who, by force of arms, had already advanced as far as Oedenburg.

The son of Stibor, as already stated, left a daughter; but as the regal gift was to be perpetuated solely in the male line, Trenschin, as an open fief, again reverted to the crown; and in the course of the civil war which succeeded to the death of Albert of Austria, when the States were divided between the claims of Wladislaw of Poland and the posthumous son of the deceased King, the mother of the royal child called in the aid of the formidable Giskra of Brandeiss; and Trenschin, which did not favour the Pole, willingly opened her gates to this welcome ally.

For an entire year the fortress was in the interest of this powerful chief, until Corvin, who had become through his valour the sovereign of the country, obliged the Bohemian to return to his own land, and to withdraw from his arbitrary government of Upper Hungary.

A short time subsequently (1461) royal messengers brought gladness to the town and castle of Trenschin. War was forgotten, and the implements of battle were wreathed with the garlands of festivity. Catherine Podiebrad their future Queen was on her way to the mountain-fastness. Matthew had loved her while a prisoner in Bohemia, had won her virgin heart, received her plighted faith; and now, like a true Knight and a Christian King, was about to redeem his royal word by leading her to the altar.

Shouts of joy were echoed along the hills, and flung back from their hidden caverns; the music of glad voices rode on the current of the Waag; the ambassadors of her father bore the Princess safely to the Carpathian Castle where her bridegroom awaited her; the flower of the Magyar chivalry, and the pride of Magyar dames were

there to do her homage; and the pomp and splendour of that royal bridal were long the theme of wonder and of praise.

In three short years the funeral-knell of the childless Catherine was rung in the castle chapel; the fond heart had ceased to beat, and the fair cheek had faded. The precious link which had bound together the proud spirits of Podiebrad and Matthew, and tamed their eager natures into peace, was wrenched asunder; and it required little effort on the part of the Pope, irritated against the schismatic King, to sow discord between them, and to drive them once more into open warfare.

During this reign Trenschin was ceded to Count Stephen Zapolya, to whose persevering and uncalculating loyalty and friendship Matthew was indebted for succour and success, when his own means and hopes were utterly exhausted; and to whose exertions he owed his preservation when all other help had failed. With the fortress he bestowed upon him also the tolls, customs, and other manorial rights, only redeemable from his descendants upon the payment of 15,000 guelden.

"But it was otherwise inscribed in the book of fate," says the sententious chronicler; "for instead of the word 'gold' which the king had spoken, destiny wrote 'iron,' changing the richer metal for the more chivalrous and formidable;" for scarcely had John Tapola arrived at the goal of his ambition, and felt the diadem of St. Stephen wreathe itself about his brow, when he was compelled to fly before his enemy Ferdinand I. into the country of his brother-in-law; leaving his lordly castles and his fair lands to become the prey of foreign enemies, who soon either by force or craft possessed themselves of many of his strong places.

Under such circumstances a fortress like Trenschin, second only to Zipser-Haus John's own fastness, naturally excited the attention and roused the ambition of the invaders. In 1528 it was attacked by Katzianer; but Barasay and Kozar at the head of a thousand skilful archers, resolved to perish within its walls rather than yield them to the enemy; and bravely did they make their promise good, for while *man* only warred against them, they flinched not from the equal conflict; but

they were at length driven forth by a power none could withstand; as wounded, fainting, and rapidly decreasing in numbers, they encountered unflinchingly the renewed and vigorous assaults of a foe as determined and as valiant as themselves; when suddenly, a horrid whisper grew among them—low, murmured, gasped out as though they dared not put it into words; nor was there need to do so—there was fire in the fortress—and as the heroes looked upon each other, despair was in every eye! The flames curled round their towers, shivered their casements, fed upon their provisions, already becoming scant from their protracted resistance; and ultimately drove them forth, vanquished it is true, but by no mortal enemy.

The ruined fortress remained in this desolate condition until 1535, when Count Alexis Thurso was enfeoffed with it by Ferdinand I., and at an enormous expense once more restored it. From his descendants Count Emerick Forgats in 1588 purchased Trenschin and its dependencies for 38,000 dollars; but it would appear that he did not long enjoy it, as in 1600, only twelve years

later, Stephen Illésházy, among his other titles took that of Count of Trenschin.

This Magnate, who had not only interwoven himself with the principal events of his time, but had even been a leader in many of them, was by a singular combination of circumstances subsequently suspected of high-treason, and deprived of his possessions, but having received timely warning, he was enabled to fly to Poland; and it was during his sojourn there that the long-glimmering spark of discontent burst into flame, and that in Stephen Botskay the much-required point of union was found. His troops advanced rapidly: and a division commanded by Szilassy and Karolyi under cover of the night took Trenschin, which was garrisoned only by forty negligent *hofkirchen** soldiers.

In order to secure his interest and alliance, however, Botskay restored the fortress to Illésházy; and it was to his advice, and through his almost boundless influence with the princes of Seiden-

* This word literally signifies "High-Church;" and I have failed altogether in ascertaining the nature of the force to which allusion is here made.

burg, that Hungary owed the peace which was so necessary to her, and the Archduke Matthew the success of his design upon the throne. Hence it was that he confirmed to Illésházy the possession of Trenschin, and added to it the hereditary dignity of *Ober-Gesapnschaft*, or Lord-Lieutenant of the province of that name.

Both the town and castle suffered severely during the bloody wars between the Turks and Tartars, and still later in the rebellion of Prince Rákóczy; but the great deeds of the fortress are now all chronicled, for the corroding touch of decay is perceptible on every side; and while the busy town at its foot grows from day to day into greater extent and activity, the hoary mountain-fastness crumbles slowly but surely into ruin, still the boast and glory of the comitat, and the gem of as noble a landscape as the painter or the tourist can hope to look upon.

CHAPTER X.

SCLAVONIAN PEASANTRY—SCHOOLS OF TRENSCHIN—THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE—MONASTERY OF ST. PETER—MONKISH RELICS—DUPLICATE SKELETONS—FINE SCENERY—THE BATHS OF TEPLITZ—BEAUTIFUL SITUATION—NATURE OF THE SPRINGS—PRIVILEGE—THE HUNGARIAN PUZTAS—THE DESERT—HUMAN COMPANIONSHIP—HUNGARIAN PEASANTRY—THE VORSPANN AGAIN—RANDOM DRIVING—AN UPSET—KOSZTOLAN—THE HERD—THE PEASANT-NOBLES—SPLENDID MISERY.

BEFORE I quit the subject of Trenschin, I must mention that four-fifths of the *bauern* or peasants are aboriginal Sclavonians, speaking Russ, mingled with a sort of degraded Latin; and still looking upon the Hungarians as usurping *parvenus*. By the way, it may be as well to mention here that the idea entertained in England of the existence of a tribe or colony in a province of this country neither speaking nor understanding any other language than Latin, is a mere

fable. I was requested before I left home to ascertain this fact, which I have taken considerable trouble to do—the result being an assurance that it is not so. Most of the Sclaves retain, like those of Trenschin, a mixed jargon in which the Latin is very prominent; but this is a circumstance so thoroughly the reverse of mysterious that it explains itself.

Trenschin contains seven schools, and the peasantry are compelled to enforce the attendance of their children; the poor being taught gratuitously; and the Hungarian language made an integral element of their education.

But to return to Trenschin—the other lion of the town is the Monastery of St. Peter, formerly a Jesuit convent; and thither we directed our steps on our return from the castle. The Chapel is remarkably handsome; the high altar richly furnished with silver; and the lateral shrines well worthy of examination, were it only that the visitor might not pass over without notice one or two exquisite paintings upon glass which are to be found there. The ceiling is richly painted in fresco; and the whole chapel lined and paved

with polished marble. A gilded gallery runs along three sides of the roof, and between every arch is the portrait of one of the followers of Loloya; but the boast of the establishment is a collection of saintly relics, religiously kept under lock and key, which, in spite of our polite attempts to spare him this unnecessary trouble, our monkish *cicerone* insisted on parading before our heretic eyes.

There never surely was such an exhibition! We were conducted up a dark staircase leading from the side-aisle of the chapel into the gallery I have just mentioned; and there, an iron-clamped door having been duly unlocked, we were introduced into a small room, nearly lined with glass cases, crowded in their turn with the relics.

A ghastly skeleton, with its grinning skull and fleshless hands covered with wire-gauze, and its dry bones robed in silk and tinsel, studded with imitation jewels, was first exhibited as that of St. Fabronius, who suffered martyrdom in the Holy Land; but they had no tradition to tell how his skeleton had made its way to Trenschin;—then succeeded pieces of the holy cross—drops of the

blood of the four evangelists—a fragment of the virgin's veil—a hair of Mary Magdalene—a tooth of St. Francis Xavier—*bones of all the disciples*—and a host of other valuables of the same description, mounted in gold, silver, and *rococo*, in every variety and device.

But, after all, the good brother of St. Peter failed to astonish *me*, for I had already seen more than he had ever "dreamed of in his philosophy," and quite settled the point in my own mind that in this particular line I was unsurpassable by any sight-seer whatever; having in the course of my determined convent-hunting, been formally presented to two entire skeletons of the same saint!

With this unhappy memory ever before me, I felt a comparative disdain for the mere fragments which the Pierist was now exhibiting; and we accordingly escaped as rapidly as possible from the infliction of his elaborate explanations, and the unsavoury atmosphere of his musty museum.

In another hour we were again upon the road; and having passed under a second ancient gateway, turned our backs, probably for ever, to the

interesting old city of Trenschin; although as we followed the course of the Waag along a road which wound round the base of the rock on which the castle stands, we were thus enabled to look once more upon its mouldering majesty. We travelled for a considerable distance beside the river, gradually approaching the mountains, until a sudden turn in the road parted us from the sparkling stream, and changed the nature of the scenery into sterner and wilder beauty.

The patches of forest-timber which had hitherto varied the landscape grew into far-spreading forests; stretches of Indian corn, twenty or thirty acres in extent, waved in the breeze, looking in the distance like an inland lake; and at length all traces of cultivation disappeared, and we drove along beneath a hilly ridge thickly clothed with beeches and dwarf oak, save where, here and there, a mass of calcareous rock detached itself from the belt of foliage, and stood out bleak and bare like the remnant of some giant fortress.

The road soon followed an ascent, and hung midway of this ridge, while beneath us on the other side lay a strip of green grassy land through

which ran a laughing brook, leaping and sparkling over its rocky bed; now partially hidden by groups of trees, and now forming a mirror for the thousand wild-flowers upon its banks. The hills closed in as if to stop our further progress; a tall spire, and then the roofs of many houses, appeared above the forest-timber which filled the pass, and ere long we found ourselves at the baths of Teplitz.

Nothing can be more charming than the situation of these mineral springs. Gushing from the mountains in a volume sufficient to feed all the basins of a tolerably extensive establishment, and celebrated for their healing properties, they are rendered doubly inviting to the invalid by the picturesque and beautiful features of the defile, which they have tended to people with sunny-looking dwellings and human inhabitation. The principal ingredient is sulphur, and the vapour greatly resembles in odour that of the baths used by the Turks; the temperature is 30° Reaumur, and they are highly esteemed in cases of chronic gout or rheumatism.

The glen, save where the street of the village

stretches along, with its neat little shops and neater houses, is one large garden overhung by wooded heights, and irrigated by the brook to which I have already alluded.

As we were detained here for a couple of hours by the impossibility of procuring fresh horses, we profited by the delay, and enjoyed the luxury of as clear and delicious a bath as ever tempted travellers; while our jaded animals were laying in a fresh stock of strength by food and rest; and the day was thus considerably advanced before we were again on our way to Privilege, the next stage, where we were assured that we were certain to find a relay on to the wretched village of Kosztolan, our halting-place for the night.

The drive was very beautiful; mountainous, fertile in patches, relieved by timber, and glimpses of the Waag and its tributaries, and interesting from its variety. The herds of cattle were numerous and large, and the villages cheerful, and in many instances densely peopled.

It is a relief to drive into an Hungarian village after crossing one of their wide *puztas* or plains, where the enormous sweeps of grain or wood-

land give a feeling of desolation and melancholy, which it requires the presence of man and of man's avocations to dispel. Perhaps this sensation is more painful in this country than elsewhere. When the traveller plunges into the mysterious wildernesses of the Eastern deserts he goes prepared for solitude, and stillness, and sterility—he learns to look upon the camel that he rides, and the Arab who is his guide, as the friends of his pilgrimage; he turns willingly and forewarned from the haunts of men; and the very sublimity of his resolve is to him companionship; but the mere European tourist, however wide may be his wanderings, always falls back upon his species, and looks round as he travels on for the track of a fellow-being.

He will very often do this vainly in Hungary; for the country having been for centuries one wide battle-plain, where the cross alternately paled before the crescent, and the crescent bowed before the cross; where the crops were trampled by the war-horse, or flourished rank and revolting on the ensanguined soil; the heart-sick and ruined peasantry, driven by each party in turn from their

solitary dwellings, learnt under that stern task-mistress, Necessity, to congregate together for their common safety; and hence those far-reaching villages, with their rude external walls, which have depopulated the valleys and the hills, where the denizen of a less disturbed land looks in vain for the modest hut of the husbandman or the shepherd amid the leafy trees, or beside the running brook.

The serf of Hungary, gentle and submissive though he be in fact, and ever ready to do the behest of the traveller from mere courtesy, looks rather like a brigand or a guerilla, than a peaceful peasant, as he drives his charge before him attended by his large fierce dog; while the horses, or oxen, or sheep spread themselves on all sides in hundreds; and even the women, dressing in many instances almost like their husbands, and in all cases sharing their labour, whatever may be its nature, tend to give an additional air of savage insecurity to the aspect of the landscape.

It is said that the Musselmauns are only *encamped* in Europe; it may be declared with equal propriety that the pastoral population of Hungary

are merely bivouacked in their own land, for the country has not yet recovered from the paralyzing effects of its three centuries of warfare; and almost every village is still a mere collection of human beings driven together by the habit of long mutual necessity, and common danger.

Thus then, as I before remarked, it is a relief to drive into an Hungarian hamlet, and to see the congregation of fellow-creatures who collect at their cottage-doors to gaze upon you as you pass; but it is by no means so pleasant to be detained there *nolens volens*, as was our unhappy fate on reaching Privilege, which we found in the partial occupation of a squadron of dragoons, gay with burnished helmets and white jackets.

Here it was our unlucky destiny to be *plantés* by our *Vorspann* driver opposite to the one inn of the village, where he coolly unhooked his horses, and having received his *drink-gelt*, which we were sufficiently young travellers to give him immediately on our arrival, took his departure, and left us to the tender mercies of our courier, and the languid exertions of the *richter;* a combination by which we were condemned to upwards of three

hours of inaction, and during which time we were amused by histories of Privilege being a *free* village, and of the necessity of sending to the next hamlet, a distance of upwards of a league, for the horses that we required.

Bribes were of no avail, and threats were idle; so there we remained with the heavy twilight gathering about us, and the assurance that the road between Privilege and Kosztolan was *rather bad*, having been torn up by the late storms; until four poor, little, travel-worn horses were slowly driven forward by a couple of peasants, no one individual having been found who could furnish more than two, and each owner travelling with his own.

In due time, that is, in another half-hour, these wretched and tired animals were tied to the carriage; one of the *bauern* mounting the near wheeler, and the other ascending to the glories of the coachbox; and away we went once more, having nestled ourselves among our cloaks and cushions, and made up our minds to the worst: and well it was that we did so, for ere two hours had elapsed we found ourselves built up between a deep well on the one hand, and a stone wall on the other. Even

in the darkness we soon discovered how matters stood and thought it prudent to alight. Our driver had missed the road on traversing a small hamlet, and had most ingeniously contrived to wedge us in between the two uninviting objects which I have already mentioned. It was fortunate that we had remembered in time that "discretion is the better part of valour," for in regaining the road the carriage was overset, and it performed its evolution much more comfortably being empty, than it could possibly have done had we persisted in sharing its fate.

Providentially little mischief was done, and we were on the road again in less than an hour, but with our nerves somewhat shaken; and we were not sorry when at one o'clock in the morning we drew up before the wretched inn at Kosztolan, where a considerable time elapsed ere we could make ourselves heard; and even when we had succeeded in so doing, we dared not venture more than a *look* at the beds. We had plenty of chairs, however, and as one of the party slept in the carriage we contrived to get the night over, and even to rest until daylight, when the bugle

of the village cowherd aroused us once more into consciousness.

The inn stood in the square of the village, and it was curious to see the gates on every hand opening almost simultaneously, and the cattle coming forth, and collecting together, in readiness to be driven to the mountains.

The herd, ere it left the village, amounted to some hundreds, and it was strange to reflect that although as many as forty or fifty head of these cattle belonged to the same individual, that individual was probably not possessed of as many shillings in specie had you searched his whole dwelling; and this is the great secret of Hungarian poverty. The finest cow of the herd might have been purchased for a pound, and at that price the owner would gladly have parted from her; but who was to give it? A neighbour could but barter sheep, or pigs, or grain, or whatever other stock or produce he possessed—money there is none among the small landholders, or *bocskoros nemesek*,* as they are called; a species

* The peasant-nobles of Hungary are called *bocskoros nemesek*, which signifies in English "sandalled noble-

of petty nobility, who, while their shadowy rank exempts them from taxation, tolls, and all compulsatory assistance in public works, and gives them the privilege of transmitting their possessions in the male line, are nevertheless mere peasants in their habits and modes of life, and very frequently cannot even read or write. Thus their very riches are poverty, for where they need money for any particular purpose, they have it not, nor can they procure it by the sale of their produce.

The fact is evident that they might find a market by driving their cattle, or carting their grain to Vienna, or any other trading city; but how are they to provide against the contingencies of the journey? And, when it is made, the expenses defrayed, and the heavy tax exacted at the Austrian frontier on the admission of Hungarian produce duly paid, what remains to the agriculturist? Simply the conviction that the first sacrifice is the most easy, and that he had better live on from day to day amid his herds and his fields, shearing his

men," a name derived from the half-shoes strapped over the instep, which they wear in some parts of the country, in common with the peasantry.

own sheep for clothing, and slaughtering his own cattle for food, than risk absence from his family and his avocations, on a merely speculative attempt at improvement which too frequently proves a failure.

CHAPTER XI.

PREVITZ—A MOUNTAIN-FESTIVAL—OSZLAN—THE VILLAGE-BALL—NATIONAL DANCE—MAGYAR MELODIES—PLAIN WOMEN—A MOUNTAIN-PASS—A SUNSET—NIGHT AMONG THE HILLS—KREMNITZ—A CHURLY HOST—BOHEMIAN MINSTREL.

From Kosztolan, we in due time arrived at Previtz, a melancholy-looking town, with an enormous platz, or square, which, miserable as we thought it, we nevertheless saw in its holiday dress, for it was a festival, and the peasants were wandering over the huge, muddy, ill-paved space in their most showy costumes: the men wearing bright-coloured cotton 'kerchiefs about their waists, and flowers or ribbon-grass or turkey's feathers in their hats; and the women in the shortest of all short petticoats, with their fine hair swept away from their foreheads, and gathered behind into two plaits twisted with ribbons, falling in many instances to their feet.

From the faubourg of Previtz we commenced ascending the mountain side; the road was rough and steep, and for awhile we walked, thinking that every mile must produce a change for the better; but at length we resigned ourselves to our fate, and were jolted, shaken, and rattled into the little mountain-village of Oszlan, at the foot of the pass.

Nothing could be prettier than its site; wooded heights, stretching away on either hand, far as the eye could reach, were the background; the valley which we had left in the morning lay far beneath us in front; and we stood upon a rude wooden bridge under which a wild torrent, the original engineer of the road we were to travel, tossed, and tumbled, as it plunged headlong down into the lower lands, all foam and fury.

Beside us, right and left along the lip of the precipice, clustered the huts of the peasantry; and from the largest of these, which proved to be the modest hostelry of the village, came the sounds of mirth and music, for here too the festival was kept. I will not mention the name of the saint, but it was precisely she whose skeleton I had seen in dupli-

cate; and we were obliged to her for crossing our path so opportunely, as the good mountaineers told us frankly on our first apparition, that there was not a horse in the village, and that we could not stir thence under a couple of hours.

The carriage was duly examined by a committee of serfs, and we were threatened with oxen to drag us up the mountain; but as we satisfied them that we carried no luggage, it was at length conceded that we might venture with six horses. Unluckily these horses would not come at a wish, and therefore we had no remedy but patience; and having eaten some of the black bread encrusted with carraway-seeds, and goat's-milk cheese, and drunk a few drops of the sour wine of the hamlet, with as few grimaces as possible, we walked towards the little *gasthaus* to "assist" at the village-ball.

It was a curious scene, and we saw it distinctly through the grated and unglazed window which opened on the narrow street. A large room, reeking with the smoke of many pipes mingled with a strong savour of garlic, was tenanted by about forty peasants; the women and girls were seated on benches along one side of the apartment; ano-

ther was occupied by four musicians who were mounted upon a table, and the centre of the floor was alive with the dancers; the men wearing their large hats and their heavy leather boots reaching to the knee; and the women, generally speaking, barefooted, and clad in their thin linen jackets, and petticoats of dark chintz.

The dance was intricate enough. It was a species of waltz, where the man suddenly whirled his partner round and round with a velocity and force that almost took away the breath, and then as suddenly loosed her, and whirling away in his turn left her to overtake him in the crowd. When they met their pace became almost funereal, and they merely set to each other, inclining first to the one side, and then to the other, until the fit returned, when away they bounded again, forming circles which the eye could scarcely follow. Sometimes the girl wearied, and when her partner flung her off, seated herself on the nearest bench, when one of her companions instantly stood up, and the dance went on as before.

At times the men gave out a shrill cry or yell

similar to that of Highlanders dancing the "fling;" and at others they sang, merely balancing their partners from side to side; reminding me of the Bayadères, or the dancing-boys in Turkey; in short, although I wished to give an idea of this mountain-ball, I find it utterly impossible.

We made them very happy, nevertheless, by paying liberally for our initiation into its mysteries; and they volunteered to vary the entertainment by singing a national glee, which was as wild as their own mountain-fastness. Half-a-dozen young men ranged themselves in front of the musicians, each with a glass in his hand, and sang alternate stanzas, relieved by one general chorus, of which the effect was thrilling; and then, at a given signal, up sprang their partners again, the music burst into a more rapid measure, and the floor was once more covered with dancers.

I am compelled, however, in some degree to injure the effect of my village-ball, by confessing that among the whole of the women there was not even one who was tolerably good-looking; but I have frequently remarked that beauty is very rare in mountainous regions. The men are tall,

robust, handsome, and athletic; but the women are universally coarse, heavily-limbed, and ungainly; and thus it was at the hamlet of Oszlan; but despite this drawback, they danced away with light hearts; lighter perhaps than that of many a belle whose attractions have been the boast of half London and the glory of Almacks—for a night! and we amused ourselves by watching them only too long, for our relay was even more tardy than we anticipated; and three long hours were wasted ere we were again *en route.*

The distance from Oszlan to Kremnitz (Körmöer Bánya) was but two German miles, and although the whole of the way was either an abrupt ascent or a steep declivity, the distance was so short, and our horses so numerous, that we felt no anxiety, as we were assured that in three hours we should arrive there; and away we went, followed by the good wishes of our merry mountaineers, and full of pleasant anticipations.

Surely there is nothing more magnificent on earth than a mountain-pass, with its mysterious stillness, its dense forests, its vast outline, and its leaping torrents, serving rather to make the silence

felt than to destroy it. As you labour up the steep acclivity, the elastic air plays about you, and seems to woo you onward; and the masses of vapour as they roll away from the sides of the heights form a thousand fantastic shapes, and give a glimpse of the spirit-land of romance and ideality. And here, we might well be excused if we even strove to increase the fancy; for we were travelling over mines of gold, the true dwelling-places of the treasure-loving gnomes, who doubtlessly sought at times to refresh themselves on the summit of their own ore-laden mountains, and to sport with the spirits of the upper air, whose usual companions were the lordly eagle and the storm-winds.

But we were soon withdrawn from fantasies like these by the glorious realities of nature. Pine-woods spread dark and tall about us, leaning their sombre and rigid mass against the rocky barrier that hemmed them in; every cleft became the channel of a torrent which lent its wild voice to the solitude, and made music to the woods; here and there a bright vista gave us for an instant a glimpse of the world beneath,

where the broad plain swept away dotted with churches and villages; while the range of heights which we had traversed the previous day scarcely tended to break the level. But as we ascended higher and higher amid the pines, while here and there a patch of more brightly-tinted fir clung to the rocks, and flourished in the scanty soil which the winds had wafted into their chasms, we lost all sight of more distant objects, and became enclosed among the mountains.

The peasants paused to rest our panting horses for a moment just as the sun was setting. Hitherto we had only travelled at a foot-pace, for the track which we followed was so difficult, hanging on the mountain's side, with a sheer precipice beneath, and cumbered with masses of rock which had been precipitated from the heights by the violence of the late storms, that the mountaineers themselves, accustomed as they were to traverse the pass, assured us that the greatest caution was necessary; and that there was not a hope of our reaching Kremnitz before nightfall.

Disagreeable as were these unexpected tidings,

we scarcely felt their import at that moment; for we were basking in the flood of light poured down upon us by the setting sun.

A sunset is beautiful at sea; very beautiful; it drapes the whole wide ocean far as the eye can reach with an iris-mantle of ever-changing splendour; but there it is only a wide waste of gorgeousness. In the mountains, amid the grandest and most majestic features of nature, the sun sets in all its regality; turning the dark rocks to masses of glowing metal, and the pine-woods to forests of jewels; lining or lipping the trembling leaves of the aspen and the beech with gold, and writing the outline of the stupendous barrier upon a background of fire;—and we saw this, and stood and gazed in silence, for words would have been profanation, as we watched the gradual changes that swept over the whole landscape while the glorious orb sank lower and lower in the horizon, until the vapours once more began to cluster about the heights, and to crown them with a revolving diadem; the bright blue of the sky deepened into purple; the pine-trees put on a drapery of dark dense black,

as though in mourning for the departed day; and the torrents chafed over their stony channels without one glimpse of sunshine to light them on their way.

Unfortunately, we shared the fate of the torrents, for the darkness soon began not only to blot out the beauties of the landscape, but even to render our very road invisible. A wild wind swept through the woods, chilling us to the very heart, and the noise of the brawling waters which were tossing and tumbling in every direction was desolate beyond description. In this wretched condition, with each peasant walking beside his horses, and now and then stopping short when they discovered that they were leading us into the precipice instead of along it, we reached Kremnitz at eleven o'clock; having previously been several times deluded into the hope that we were already arrived, by the light from the smelting-houses and miners' huts scattered along the mountain.

When we had actually reached the rough and difficult street that traverses the town, we dispatched our courier forward to secure accommo-

dations at the one tolerable hotel of the town, which boasted, according to his account, a *damen zimmer*, or room for ladies; but we were not fated on this unlucky night to rejoice in the glories of the state-apartment, which had been already secured by an Hungarian Grafinn, on her way to Presburg to rejoin her husband, who was attending his duties at the Diet.

Wretched, therefore, as may readily be believed, was the accommodation (!) that awaited us; and moreover the fat and pursy landlord (who might have played Falstaff without stuffing) was so indignant at the enormity of which we were guilty, in being benighted, and arriving at his orderly *gasthaus* at such an unwonted and unseemly hour, that he positively refused to leave his bed to supply our wants; and merely sent a message by the sleepy chambermaid that we had better go to rest at once, in the very questionable-looking sheets which she spread over mattresses and coverlets still more undeniably dirty; and we had to contend bravely, urged on by most ogre-ish appetites, ere we could succeed in compelling our inhospitable hosts to furnish us with food.

While this was preparing we leant over the rude wooden gallery to listen to the wild music of a Bohemian minstrel who was serenading some mountain beauty, and the sweet sounds of his voice and instrument almost made us forget for a time that we were cold, weary, and famished.

CHAPTER XII.

SITUATION OF KREMNITZ—THE FURNACES—THE MINERS —ORIGIN OF THE MINES—SIR ISAAC NEWTON AND CAPTAIN FRANKLAND ON HUNGARIAN COPPER—STATISTICS OF THE MINES — SMELTING-HOUSE — THE MINT—THE CHURCH — PLAGUE-COLUMN — FRANCISCAN CONVENT—KREMNITZ KEPTELS.

KREMNITZ is by no means a picturesque town, but its situation is extremely happy. It is one of the most ancient of the free royal mining cities, and occupies a narrow gorge overhung both on the right and left by mountains of considerable altitude, which to the eastward separate it from a second similar and parallel valley.

In this chain are situated the mines; and the torrent which had been our terror in the darkness, after serving to cleanse the clay and sand from the quartz which is flung up from them, rushes through the bottom of the gorge as white and as opaque as milk.

At six o'clock in the morning we started to see "the Furnaces," and after passing along an ancient rampart, beneath which the milky torrent ran brawling along, we arrived at a large dingy-looking edifice built under the mountain; and walking down a plank reaching from the threshold into the building, found ourselves in a vast space, amid fires, blazing furiously, and howling through the wide chimneys like beasts of prey, while the boiling metals streamed down into the moulds sunk in the earth to receive them, in floods of liquid flame.

It was difficult to believe, while looking around upon this Hall of Eblis, for such it really seemed, with its fierce light, and its dark figures flitting to and fro armed with long iron-shod poles, that these were the scenes and actors amid which *gold*—that bright and coveted thing for which beauty sometimes disdains not to sell herself—which cements the friendship of nations—rules the march of armies—peoples the wide ocean with floating batteries—tempts the weak to sin, and the despairing to suicide—that it was by means like these that it is brought to light! It

was sickening to look upon the tattered, begrimed, half-savage seeming wretches who were plying their rude tools, and exciting the very flames beneath whose dense heat they were already withering; and to remember that there were fortune, and ease, and luxury, in the lava-like streams that they were pouring forth, in which they could never share; but that the very atmosphere produced by this precious fusion was rapidly sapping their life-blood; and that the calculation had been made to the nicest certainty how many years human nature could on an average sustain this sordid and poisonous avocation.

Such reflections are idle, however; man must have gold, and it must be bought with human lives and human suffering!

It is asserted that these mines were first worked by the Romans, but there is no doubt that it was by Germans that the town was founded in the middle ages, and the labour of exploration carried on; and that it was also they who repaired the city after the numerous catastrophes to which it was subjected during the wars and revolutions of the country. The miners are now principally Bohe-

mians, intermingled with Germans, who speak a strange, gothic, and almost unintelligible jargon which has become a local language; intermingled with a few Sclavonians and Hungarians.

The building in which we stood must be about two hundred feet in length, having four enormous furnaces, worked by a blast-pipe impelled by steam; above each furnace is a large opening, through which the fires are kept up; and in order to supply the fuel, the "stoker" stands upon a gallery raised along the opposite side of the edifice; two moulds are supplied simultaneously from each furnace; the earth, which had been previously washed at the mouth of the mine to cleanse it from the clay, being flung in large masses into the heated furnace, which is always kept at the same temperature; the water that turns the wheel of the engine being more or less assisted by steam according to its volume, which depends greatly on the vicissitudes of the season.

The liquid that streams into these moulds, and there forms a mass of about one inch in thickness, and the circumference of a foot, is removed in its heated state and piled in heaps. The earth has

been by this first process entirely separated from the metal, and is in its turn flung off in large lumps, which look like pieces of bituminal coke, if such a substance can be supposed to exist.

The "cakes" as they are termed, or moulds of metal thus obtained, cool as they stand, and are a mixture of gold, silver, and lead, intermingled with kobald, antimony, auripigments, mercury, &c. in smaller quantities. The lead predominates; and the gold is in larger proportion than in any other Hungarian mine, although the aggregate quantity produced in the district of Transylvania (Szalathna) is yet greater; but no lead is found in either the mines of Kremnitz or Schemnitz.

I mention this fact, because in Captain Frankland's Travels, published in 1830 by Colburn, a passage occurs in which great stress is laid on the quality of the copper of Kremnitz, as though it were a prominent production in that particular district; when in point of fact (as I was assured on the spot) it does not exist at all. The passage to which I allude is this:—"1828, June 20. Admiral Marchese Paulucci, Commandant-General of Marine, called upon us to see Captain

Dalling, who had known him in the Levant, while the Marchese commanded the Imperial Squadron in those seas. He told us a very remarkable fact about the corrosion of Hungarian copper upon ships' bottoms by the salt water. He promises to send us a specimen, and a note respecting it, which we think of forwarding to the Royal Society. This copper comes from the celebrated mines of Kremnitz in Hungary, and is the matrix of a great deal of gold and silver. It is by the process of fusion, and smelting, and separation, deprived of its more noble parts, and thus becomes very soft and malleable; and perhaps is by this process rendered peculiarly sensible of the corrosive action of salt or of acids. The Italian copper of the mines near Treviso is harder, and is not liable to corrosion more than usual; but its specific gravity is not so great, neither is it so ductile as that of Kremnitz."

It is possible that the metal here alluded to may be that of Schmölnitz, where there are large copper-mines; but in any case it should certainly not be described as "Hungarian" copper, when it is well known that the quality

varies very considerably according to the district in which it is produced. It may be, therefore, that the Schmölnitz copper corrodes more than is usual with that metal, although still it cannot be from the cause assigned, as there exists no admixture of gold and silver in that mine to separate from it.

It is very singular that the same misapprehension existed long ago in England on the subject of this metal, for no less a person than Sir Isaac Newton, in the year 1669, in a letter addressed to Francis Acton, Esq., a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Secretary to the Institution between 1681 and 1685, inserts the following enquiry.

"Whether at Schemnitium in Hungary (where there are mines of gold, copper, iron, vitriol, antimony, &c.) they change iron into copper by dissolving it in a vitriolate water, which they find in cavities of rocks in the mines, and then melting the slimy solution in a strong fire which in the cooling proves copper." An experiment never heard of at Schmölnitz, where my enquiry on the subject only produced a smile.

I carry home a specimen, which will determine the point. I have also procured portions of the earth of Kremnitz before and after fusion, as well as a couple of the small earthen vessels used in the precipitation of the metals in cases of test.

The statistical information which follows, relative to the Hungarian mining districts, I have derived from the most authentic sources; deeming it a subject of surpassing interest in a country like that of which I write, where the treasures of nature are even more profusely lavished within the bowels of the earth than upon its surface, rich and fertile as it is. I trust that it may not be considered tedious; for I confess that I have learnt to feel so sincere a sympathy with Hungary; such a respect for the phœnix-like spirit which dwells within her, and which is rapidly renewing a strong and stalwart existence from the ashes of the past, that I cannot look upon these palpable sources of prosperity and power without the deepest and most absorbing interest.

Each mining district in Hungary has its Accountant's office (chancelry), subject, however, to

the revision of the general Accountant's office at Vienna.

There are four mining districts in Hungary; (viz.) I. Selmetz-bánya (Schemnitz), II. Szomolnok, III. Nagybánya, and IV. Oravicza; and one in Transylvania, called Szalathna.

The average production of the Hungarian mines annually is 2,280 marks of gold—63,905 marks of silver—33,590 cwts. of copper—16,892 cwts. silver of lead—2,560 cwts. saleable lead—6,921 cwts. oxide of lead—295 cwts. zinc—4,671 cwts. antimony—4,000 cwts. kobald—35 cwts. auripigment—205,697 cwts. crude iron—27,544 cwts. cast-iron—1,390 cwts. iron-vitriol—12,600 cwts. alumine—6,455 cwts. sulphur—392,912 cwts. coal. In value about 4,969,964 florins at 2*s*. the florin.

In Transylvania the produce yearly is—2,850 marks of gold—4,499 marks of silver—50 cwts. mercury—980 cwts. copper—2,542 cwts. lead—40,681 cwts. crude iron—1,899 cwts. cast-iron, &c. In value about 1,351,978 florins, at 2*s*. English per florin.

There are two distinct properties in mines

throughout the kingdom; some are royal possessions, such as those of Oberbieberstollen, Joseph II., and Erbstollen in the district of Schemnitz—Goldkunsshandlung at Kremnitz—Königsberger Goldgrube in Rudain—the Anna and Te Deo copper-mines in Herrngrund and Altgebirg—and the antimony and gold mines in Libethen and Magurka; while all the others, which are named after every saint in the calendar, and of which the mere catalogue would suffice to fill a volume, are worked by companies in shares; but all these pay a fine in kind to the crown, of which the following are the proportions, after the metals are duly smelted and separated.

Of gold, silver, and mercury .	1-10th part.
Of copper . . .	1-17th "
Of kobald . . .	1-10th "
Of antimony . . .	1-17th "
Of auripigment . .	1-10th "

Of iron-stone, a duty of 2*d.* per cwt.

Sulphur, alumine, and vitriol are free; but in addition to this tax the companies working the mines are compelled to have their gold, silver, mercury, and kobald smelted by the officers of the

crown, and to leave them for the service of the King at a conventional valuation; which, however, is always a fair and honourable one. All the other metals may be smelted at their own establishments.

When a company is formed for the purpose of working a mine, and that the government is satisfied of the validity of the shareholders, the space accorded is 12,544 square fathoms; and it is illegal to exceed this measurement either in length or breadth, the depth only being left to the discretion of the proprietors.

In addition to these metal-mines Hungary possesses the opal-mine at Cashau, and many others rich in precious stones and marbles.

From the furnaces we passed to the smelting-house where the lead and copper are precipitated, and nothing can be more primitive than its arrangement. It is a square stone building, having in the centre a circular *plateau* of brick, into which, when it is thoroughly heated, the cakes of metal previously fused in the furnaces are thrown, a heavy cover, or lid of iron fitting the plateau being let down over them, and the heat main-

tained at an equal temperature by means of a large bellows like those used in our forges. Here the gold and silver are left on the surface; when after six hours of fusion the whole is permitted to cool gradually before it is subjected to the action of the external air, and the inferior metals are precipitated to the bottom of the *plateau*, the lead of course from its specific gravity forming the base of the mass. The gold and silver are then carefully secured in chests, which are sealed with the Imperial arms, and deposited in a building appropriated to their reception; the lead being weighed off, and turned over to the proper authorities; and the treasure-chests being finally removed to Neusohl, where the precious metals are separated, and then returned to the mint of Kremnitz to be coined.

This mint was of course our next object of attraction, and by the very courteous attention of the comptroller we were enabled to see the whole establishment. Unfortunately there were no ducats in process of production; all the coiners being employed in striking *swanzikers*, silver pieces about the size of a shilling, and of

the value of sixpence English. It is a handsome coin, having on one side the head of the Emperor, and on the reverse the Virgin and child, with the inscription " S. Maria Mater Dei, Patrona Hung. 1839." This device was adopted in the reign of Matthias Corvinus, and continued until that of Joseph II., who among his other attempts to reduce Hungary to a mere German province, caused the national stamp to be disused; but about ten years ago the Diet effected its restoration.

There are two stamping-moulds which are worked by four men each, according to the old system; and one which acts by machinery. Steam has not yet been introduced, but as it has been adopted in Vienna, it is hoped that in a few years it may find its way to Hungary. I coined a few swanzikers, greatly to the amusement of the workmen, who had full leisure to permit this momentary interruption, the demand even for this trifling coin not being pressing, in consequence of which they were not producing more than an average of 1600 daily, although when requisite they could make 14,000.

In the hall of the building we remarked an iron waggon destined for the transport of the treasure-chests to Neusohl; and a party of the smartest Austrian soldiers whom we had seen in the country were on guard there.

The church of Kremnitz is admirably placed on the summit of a height commanding the square of the town; and in the centre of the area stands a remarkably handsome plague-column of sandstone; the faces of the pillar being wrought in relief with the appropriate subject of Elijah standing between the two hosts to stay the pestilence. It is rendered the more remarkable by the extraordinary conceit of the architect, who having found himself compelled to surmount the gate-posts with lanterns, in order that on solemn occasions the column might be illuminated, has made them in the shape of knightly helmets, through whose close visors the light gleams out. The steps leading to the base of the column are of fine porphyry, which abounds in the neighbouring mountains; and taken altogether, the erection is very ornamental.

An extensive Franciscan convent forms one side

of the square, and the walls of the old town, which now traverse the centre of the city, with their ancient gates, are well worthy of a look.

Kremnitz, not content with its golden reputation, is also famed throughout Hungary for its delicious *keptels*, or small white rolls, which are certainly the *ne plus ultra* of bread, both in delicacy of flavour and beauty of appearance.

CHAPTER XIII.

SKLANÓ—THE BATHS—HUNGARIAN GIPSIES—THEIR AVOCATIONS—STRANGE TASTE—SCHEMNITZ—CALVARIENBURG—SZITNA—THE YOUNG LADY'S CASTLE—THE ZSOLYAM—DISCOVERY OF THE GOLD-MINES—THE UNIVERSITY—M. GABRIEL DE SVAICZER—M. GUSTAVE DE CSAPOJ—COLLEGIATE ROUTINE—LIBERALITY OF PRINCIPLE—ADMIRABLE CICERONE.

THE journey through the mountains to Schemnitz was magnificent; but as it is impossible to paint such scenery with the pen, and as I have already run the risk of sating my readers with my attempts at landscape-sketching, I will now content myself by merely naming the sweet valley of Sklanó, or Glasshütte, as it is generally called; a narrow gorge, celebrated for its mineral springs, which in the warm season attract a great number of visitors, and divide the favour of the neighbourhood with those of Eisenbach, another glen on the north-east

side of Schemnitz, also famous for its medicinal waters.

Here we dined, amid delicious gardens, dotted over with small, white, cheerful-looking houses, for the use of the bathers. Every visitor to the public baths throughout Hungary is expected, however, to provide his own furniture, the owner of the house never speculating beyond his bare walls, save occasionally to accommodate the servants of his tenants with a few crazy chairs and tables for their particular use: and thus, near these bathing-places you constantly encounter during the season, waggons laden with household goods, preceding the families to whom they belong. This is, indeed, the case throughout the country, when the Hungarians, save those of the higher ranks, leave the towns which they inhabit for a few weeks' recreation; they constantly unfurnish their houses, and carry away everything with them; a very troublesome method of enjoying themselves, I should imagine, but to which they are so thoroughly accustomed, that they never appear so to consider it.

There are two descriptions of springs at Glasshütte, utterly distinct in their nature; and it is

singular to find them both united in one large bathing-hall, within a couple of feet of each other. The degree of temperature varies considerably between them, and the one is famous for the cure of chronic, and the other of cutaneous diseases. There are various springs, however, to be found in the valley, and private baths which may be hired by the month. The general nature of the water is acid and ferruginous, and the temperature varies from 43 degrees (Reaumur) to 24.

The mountains by which the valley is shut in are very picturesque; and on the summit of the highest still exist the ruins of a castle, covering the whole table-land; with traces of a magnificent road seeming to indicate that it had once led to a place of strength and consequence.

Jasper and chalcedony opals are found in the neighbourhood; and the botanist would also collect wherewithal to store his *Hortus Siccus* during a summer's sojourn at Glasshütte.

Beyond this village, on the border of a little wood, which after fringing with its bright foliage the banks of a mountain-stream, spreads in rich profusion over the precipitous side of the accli-

vity, we first encountered a colony of *Zigeuner*, or Hungarian gipsies, a race as utterly distinct from the other inhabitants of the country as though they were not children of the same soil.

Nothing can be more wretched than their appearance—the men scantily covered by a single garment of woollen cloth: the women veiled rather than clad in rags and patches; and the children without a covering of any kind. Like the gipsies of England, *Zigeuner* wander over the face of the land, voluntary outcasts. We had heard much of them, but as this was the only occasion in which we came upon one of their tribes during the whole of our journey, we had no opportunity of observing in what particulars they differed from those of our own country, save physically; and here there is assuredly a marked difference, for the *Zigeuner* of Hungary are a much darker race, being little removed from black; they are also remarkably low in stature, thin, but well-built; with sharp, restless, black eyes, teeth like ivory, and an outline of face inclining rather to that of the Jews. Their young women are slight and graceful; but their exposure to every variation of climate, and

the extremity of filth amid which they live, wither them very soon, and in old age they are hideous and disgusting.

According to the information which has been afforded to me by those well acquainted with the habits of this singular people, there are other distinctive points, however, which are more striking. They exist in a sort of social commonwealth, not recognizing marriage either as a sacrament or a ceremony; the women and children being considered as the wives and offspring of the tribe generally.

The children wear no clothes until the age of ten or twelve years; and resemble imps rather than human beings, as they run beside the carriage of the traveller shrieking for alms, with their long matted hair flying in the wind, and their black limbs shining in the light. They are extremely idle, passing whole weeks stretched in listless inaction, under the trees, without an effort at occupation, until fairly driven by hunger to exert themselves; they then, as in England, stroll from hamlet to hamlet, working as tinkers or blacksmiths, and telling fortunes, or playing on a rude kind of bagpipe, to

which the mountaineers dance on days of festival; they also sometimes make hatchets, and sword-sticks, which are bought by the serfs and cowherds.

It has been ascertained that in 1417 upwards of sixty thousand of these vagabonds infested Hungary and Transylvania; and the census taken by command of the Emperor Joseph in 1783 gave a return of 40,000 in Hungary alone. This sovereign, as well as Maria Theresa herelf, strenuously endeavoured to settle the wanderers both in Transylvania and the Banat, and held out many inducements to them to become good citizens, by appropriating lands to their use; but few of their numbers profited by the Imperial generosity; the mass preferring to continue their restless and vagabond lives.

Instances have been known of a colony of *Zigeuners* building their miserable huts near a village, and even remaining there for several years; but they have always eventually disappeared suddenly, without giving the slightest warning of their intention; leaving nothing behind them but their miserable hovels, and the earthen vessels in which they had cooked their food.

Leading a life of misrule among themselves, it will readily be understood that they are not very scrupulous towards others; but their vices rarely grow into crime: they are rogues on a small scale, delighting in petty villanies, and proud of over-reaching the more civilized portions of the community: but they neither rob nor murder; nor is there anything to apprehend for the solitary traveller who intrudes into their haunts, save a request for tobacco, of which men, women, and children are alike inordinately fond, and which they use to excess when they can procure it; indeed, I was seriously assured that so great is their passion for this filthy weed, that their highest luxury is to collect the rank and oily substance which encrusts the bowls of their pipes, and which they devour most greedily; nor do they ever fail, when they encounter a stranger about to clean out his meerschaum to petition earnestly for this indulgence.

When Bukovine was ceded to Austria in 1778, out of her 7000 inhabitants 1000 were Zigeuners; but their number has greatly diminished of late years throughout the empire.

The first aspect of Schemnitz, or rather of its

environs, is extremely striking. The view is not extensive in any direction, being closed in by lofty mountains on all hands; but their noble outline, and the stately forests by which many of them are clothed, render the panorama one of great beauty. The town is built amphitheatrically against the southern heights, and is interspersed with trees like an Eastern city; the likeness being borne out on a nearer approach, for Schemnitz also loses much of its attraction when once entered.

In the centre of the basin, for such it may properly be called, rises a singular conical rock called the Calvarienberg, perfectly distinct from all the chain in the midst of which it stands, an isolated mass, bearing testimony to its volcanic origin. This rock towards its summit is formed of basalt for about one third of its height, a peculiarity not discoverable in any other mountain of the neighbourhood. It is crowned by a chapel; and at regular distances are small prayer-stations, half-buried in the trees which skirt the winding path that leads to the temple.

This shrine is celebrated throughout Hungary,

and is an object of peculiar veneration to the miners, who regard it much as the Mediterranean sailors regard the fortress-chapel of Notre Dame de la Garde at Marseilles. Solemn pilgrimages take place four times during the year to invoke blessings on their subterranean labours; and *ex-votos* innumerable attest the earnestness of their petitions.

Tawdry paintings, and wooden figures yet more fantastic and exaggerated, deform alike the "stations" and the chapel itself; and were it not that the view which it commands is varied and interesting, the Calvarienberg would not deserve a visit. I made a sketch from thence of the château of Antal, belonging to the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, the uncle of King Leopold, who married a wealthy Hungarian lady, by whom he became possessed of this and several other valuable estates.

To the southward of Schemnitz towers the majestic mountain of Szitna, the highest in the district, bearing a small building on its summit which looks like an eagle that has alighted there in quest of prey; so diminutive does it appear, based on its mighty foundation. The altitude of the rock

is estimated at 1045 *metres* above the level of the sea, and the view from it is very fine.

I shall not attempt to give a *catalogue raisonné* of the other mountains, which could only weary; but this giant mass, dominating the whole range, enforced a word of notice.

The town is entered by an easy descent, and after passing the Calvary the traveller sees on his left hand a small hill crowned by a square turreted building, called the "Young Lady's Castle;" and before him, on an eminence commanding the town, an extensive ruin, known as the *Zsolyom* or Royal Castle, for which most respectable antiquity is claimed, it being asserted that the town of Schemnitz was originally built upon that height, now known as the *Rothenbrun*, which is a little to the north-east of the present city, and that both town and castle existed in the reign of St. Stephen, the first Christian King of Hungary, the former having been totally, and the latter partially, prostrated by an earthquake.

It is further stated that the gold-mines of Dülln, in the neighbourhood, were known before those of Schemnitz were accidentally revealed by

a pig, which routing up the soil with its snout, threw to the surface substances indicating the presence of metal; and that this quadrupedal excavator performed its important achievement upon the very spot now occupied by the hotel that we inhabited (Zum Hochen Hause).

The celebrated University of Schemnitz was founded by that untiring benefactress of Hungary, Maria Theresa, and at once obtained great celebrity throughout Europe. The facilities afforded for study and experiments drew there scholars of all nations, as well as students; but this glory went by; and although nature still offered the same advantages, the fame of the University of Schemnitz waned under the increasing renown of other mining establishments, and sank into a *statu quo*, which has tended to render it at the present moment very inferior in its internal economy to those of several other nations.

Within the last few years, however, under the very able, energetic, and talented administration of M. Gabriel de Svaiczer, the Supreme Count of the Mines of the district, who owes his high office entirely to his science and successful re-

search, greater activity has prevailed throughout the establishment. The college contained at the period of our visit nearly three hundred students, whose duties have been strictly defined, and are most rigidly enforced.

I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Gustave de Csapoj, a gentleman who had just completed his studies with great honour both to himself and the institution, (and who in consequence of his talents had at once, after passing his final examination, obtained an official appointment,) for a *résumé* of the collegiate routine, which I insert as a proof that the life of a Schemnitz student is by no means an idle one. In the first year they study

Mathematics,
Medicine,
Mechanics,

and during the summer once in each fortnight descend into the mines.

In the second year,

Chemistry,
Mineralogy,
Metallurgy,
Docimastication,

Practical Chemistry,

and in summer visit the smelting-houses.

In the third year,

Geology,

Subterranean Geometry,

Science of Mining,

Practical Mechanics,

Mountain Laws,

Book-keeping,

and during the whole term, a continued course of drawing, principally ground and engineer plans.

In the fourth year,

Practical Subterranean Geometry,

Practical Mining and Smelting,

Stamping by Mills,

and practise in the Mining Accountant's Office.

Thus it is evident that the scholastic system is a busy one, which when followed up, must necessarily produce good practical miners. About one-third of the students are young noblemen, with ample funds; and about as many more are noble by birth, but limited in means; while the remainder are the sons of citizens and agriculturists, anxious

to secure to their children a brighter fortune than their own.

There are, however, no distinctions save those of moral habit and intellectual superiority among the collegians of Schemnitz; no difference of costume nor of designation to distinguish the heir of a proud house from the hope of a poor one; nor shall I easily forget the wondering and half-indignant reply of M. de Csapoj, when I persisted in my doubt, and enquired: "But even if these distinctions are not countenanced by the University, do you not form *cliques* among yourselves? Am I to understand that you all meet on equal terms?"

"Why should we not?" he asked in his turn; "are we not all struggling and studying to attain the same end? What right have we, so long as a man conducts himself creditably, to make him uncomfortable, because his father does not chance to be a Magnate? It would be ungenerous to do so as a matter of feeling, and equally wretched as a question of policy; for as talent is all in all in the University, the supercilious noble might one day find himself subservient to the insulted

commoner, and the result would be alike unpleasant and prejudicial to both parties."

The natural consequence of this high feeling is the infrequency of disputes among the students; and a constant reciprocity of friendly offices; while no sensitive mind is wounded by a sense of inferiority forced upon it by the insolence of superior rank.

We were most kindly received by M. de Svaiczer, to whom we carried letters from some of the most influential persons in the country, and every facility was offered during our survey of these celebrated mines; the most valuable attention which he showed to us being that of permitting the constant attendance of M. de Csapoj, than whom we could not have had a more talented, nor a more obliging *cicerone*. His patience, intelligence, and anxiety to explain everything which excited our curiosity, were only equalled by his capability of so doing; and although we wearied him with questions from the first hour of our acquaintance to the last, we found him as cheerful and as earnest in his replies the last hour as the first; a rare quality, which in his case almost amounted to a virtue!

CHAPTER XIV.

ANTIQUITY OF THE MINES—BACHERSTOLLEN—EXTENT—SALARY OF THE OFFICIALS—THE TUNNEL—A MINING PARTY—A WET WALK—FANTASTIC FANCIES—THE GALLERIES—EXHAUSTED TREASURE—THE TOWN-PUMP—THE COUNCIL—BLASTING FOR ORE—FATAL ATMOSPHERE—PROCESS OF BLASTING—THE CHAIN—THE RAILROAD—PLEASANT MEMORIES.

THE precise period at which the mines of Schemnitz were first worked is unknown, unless the legend of the pig during the reign of St. Stephen be received as authentic; but the existence of mines in Transylvania and Nagy-bánya during the times of the Romans is by no means apocryphal, as coins of Hadrian have been found in both these places.

Our first object was, of course, a descent into the subterranean wonders of which M. de Svaiczer was the guardian; and the entrance nearest to the city being by the mouth of the extensive mine

called Bacherstollen, it was at once decided that we should visit it on the morrow; and meanwhile, we learnt that there existed a communication throughout the whole chain, extending for nearly fifty English miles; the mine of Bacherstollen alone occupying a surface of about one thousand square fathoms; its depth being two hundred, and the average number of miners employed in it from three hundred and fifty to four hundred.

The salaries of the persons engaged varies, naturally, according to their rank; the principal Superintendent receives (yearly) four thousand florins;* and the emolument of the several officers descends gradually to three hundred: the surveyors have from two to four hundred; and the labourers from forty to two hundred, according to their ability.

These mines having been greatly injured, and the works impeded, by the constant inroads of the several mountain-springs, a tunnel was commenced in May 1782, in a direct line from Schemnitz through a portion of the range, expressly to carry off the water; four thousand two hundred fathoms are already finished, but when completed

* A florin is two shillings English.

it will rather exceed seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one—and should no unforeseen impediments arise, it is anticipated that it will be finished in thirty years from the present period. The difficulty of the work has been, however, greatly increased by the fact that the tunnel traverses several private mines, where the owners having excavated with more regard to economy than science, have changed the level; a circumstance militating strongly against both the progress and beauty of the undertaking.

By six o'clock the following morning we were all astir; and armed with a change of clothes for me, we sallied forth to the Accountant's office, where we were to be furnished with mining dresses for the gentlemen, and our guides with lamps for our under-ground journey. There we were joined by a young Milanese Count, a student at the University; and although three handsomer men will be rarely seen together than the companions of my intended expedition, yet when they came forth in their leathern aprons, black caps, and coarse jackets with padded sleeves, all encrusted with yellow clay, I began to fancy that I must have

suddenly fallen among banditti; nor was the conceit diminished when the miners who were to accompany us joined the party, with their smoking lamps in their hands, and (if possible!) ten times wilder and filthier-looking than the gentlemen.

Away we went, however; and ere we had taken a hundred steps we were in utter darkness:—a low door had been passed, a narrow gallery had been traversed, a few stairs had been descended, and we were as thoroughly cut off from the rest of the world, as far as our outward perceptions were concerned, as though we had never held fellowship with them. We were moving along a passage, not blasted, but hewn in the rock, dripping with moisture, and occasionally so low as to compel us to bend our heads in order to pass; while beneath our feet rushed along a stream of water which had overflowed the channel prepared for it, and flooded the solitary plank upon which we walked.

But this circumstance, although producing discomfort for the first few moments, was of little ultimate consequence, for the large drops that exuded from the roof and sides of the gallery, and continually fell upon us as we passed, soon

placed us beyond the reach of annoyance from wet feet, by reducing us to one mass of moisture.

So far all had been easy: we had only to move on in Indian file, every alternate person carrying a lamp, to avoid striking our heads against the protruding masses of rock, and endeavouring not to slide off the plank into the channel beneath, and thus make ourselves still more wet and dirty than we were. But this comparative luxury was soon to end; for ere long we arrived at the ladders which conduct from one hemisphere to another, and by which the miners ascend or descend to their work. Then began the real labour of our undertaking. Each ladder was based on a small platform, where a square hole sawn away in the planks, made an outlet to arrive at the next; and as these had been constructed solely for the use of the workmen, it was by no means easy to secure a firm footing upon all of them; particularly as the water was trickling down in every direction, and our hands stuck to the rails which were encrusted with soil.

When we arrived, heated and panting, at the bottom of the first hemisphere, the chief miner

led the way through an exhausted gallery, whence the ore had been long since removed, and which yawned dark, and cold, and silent, like the entrance to the world of graves. The half-dozen lamps which were raised to show us the opening, barely sufficed to light the chasm for fifty feet—the distance defied their feeble power; but the jagged and fantastic outline of the walls, partly blasted, and partly hewn away where the practised hammers of the workmen had followed up a vein of ore, seemed to my excited fancy to take strange and living shapes as the heavy smoke of the lamps curled over them—bats and serpents clung to the ceiling; phantoms of men and beasts supported the walls; and in the midst moved along a train of wizard beings neither men nor demons.

To the right of this gallery opened another vast cavern, cumbered with large masses of rock, but of which we could see the whole extent; this was what is technically called in the mines a "false blast," where after having made an opening, the miners ascertained that the ore had taken another direction, and that this was mere rock, which it was useless to work further. Hence we passed

through another gallery similar to the first, except that it had been produced by blasting, and that the various nature of the rock had rendered it necessary to line it in many spots with stout timber.

There are five distinct methods of doing this; and they are applied according to the degree of strength required to resist the superincumbent and surrounding mass: sometimes the planks are placed perpendicularly, and roofed over by flat boards, like a hovel; at others the formation of the gallery resembles a low gothic crypt: in many instances the timber is arranged transversely—in others horizontally; and finally there are particular places where blocks are driven into the solid rock like the piles of a bridge, and support a perfect erection shutting out every glimpse of the rock itself.

The sight of these precautions gave me an uncomfortable feeling; for their very necessity implied a certain degree of danger; and although cowardice is not my besetting sin, I confess that I should not like to occupy quite so capacious a grave as the mine of Bacherstollen.

There was, moreover, something awful in the reflection that the subterranean passages which

branched off right and left, and which were clearly seen amid the darkness, extended for upwards of fifty miles, each mine throughout the range being accessible from that last traversed. The very echoes which swept away, and died at last in low whisperings afar off, added to the feeling; while the chill produced by our soaked and clinging garments warned us not to linger too long amid the clammy draughts in inaction, but to move on from point to point without delay.

At intervals in the first hemisphere, we came upon square tablets smoothed in the rock, and inscribed with the names of members of the Imperial family who had descended into the mine, together with the dates of their visit. Among the rest were those of Maria Theresa and her husband; and more recently that of the Archduke Charles.

Another set of ladders, as steep and as sticky as the last, admitted us to the second hemisphere; and on reaching it we came almost immediately upon a gallery in which the ore had been followed up until the vein had become exhausted. In order to enter it, we clambered over the large masses of stone which had been severed from the rock by blasting,

and when we were fairly gathered together in this gloomy cavern, for such it really was, and that our guides raised their lamps, and moved them rapidly along the roof and sides of the chasm, it was beautiful to see the bright particles of silver flash back the light; and to follow the sinuous course of the precious metal which was so clearly defined by these glittering fragments.

Many large lumps of rock were also strewn beneath our feet which appeared to pave the earth with stars, but they had not been considered sufficiently full of ore to render them worthy of being transported to the surface. These exhausted galleries are gradually refilled with soil and stone in the process of mining, as the rubbish removed from every new excavation is flung into them; by no means a disagreeable reflection, I should imagine, to the inhabitants of Schemnitz, whose dwellings stand immediately above a portion of the Bacherstollen.

It was curious enough, when on one occasion we came upon an immense iron pipe cutting through the side of the gallery along which we were passing, to see M. de Csapoj stop before it,

and announce that it was that of the town-pump, in the centre of a square which we had traversed in the morning; and a little further on, that we were standing under the house of the Supreme Count; with whom, on our return to the surface of the earth, we were to dine.

Shortly after passing this point I perceived that a very earnest discussion was taking place among my conductors; nor was I long in discovering, from the frequent and hesitating glances which the chief miner turned upon me, that I was its subject. As a matter of course, under these circumstances, I begged to be made a party in the consultation, when I ascertained that some doubt had arisen whether I should be permitted to descend lower, as I had now arrived at as great a depth as any lady had yet attempted; but I had no inclination to stop short so soon in my undertaking, and when I found that I was the first English woman who had ever entered the Bacherstollen, pleaded my privilege accordingly; but it appeared that they feared the displeasure of M. de Svaiczer, as the miners beneath us were employed in blasting the rock in every direction.

As it was, however, quite impossible that I should consent to leave the mine without witnessing this, the grandest exhibition which it could offer, I only insisted the more strongly on the assurance which I had received from himself that everything should be done that I desired; and satisfied, when rid of the responsibility, the miner once more led the way to the ladders, and we commenced our third descent; the only variation being produced by an intense feeling of heat, increasing as we got lower, and a suffocating smell of sulphur; the natural effects of the work which was going on, two hundred explosions having already taken place since sunrise. The result of the blasting as regarded the ore had not yet been fully ascertained, but there was every reason to believe that it had been very satisfactory.

When we arrived at the bottom, the sensation was all but suffocating; the dense vapours seemed to fold themselves about our wet garments, and in a few seconds we were enveloped in a steam which produced intense perspiration, and a faint sickness that compelled us to disburthen ourselves of all the *wraps* by which we had sought protection against the damps above.

For a time we all stood still, quite unable to penetrate further; and even those of the party who were accustomed to encounter the confined air of the galleries, were glad of a moment's rest; for the explosions had followed each other with such rapidity that the atmosphere had as yet had no time to relieve itself of the sulphurous vapour with which it was burthened, and which created an exudation from the rock, that brought the water down upon us in large tepid drops in all directions.

I fancied that, even through the gunpowder, I could distinguish the smell of tobacco, but this proved to be mere imagination, for owing to the perpetual *miasma* kept up in the mines from the fixed air, and the action of the metals, all smoking is strictly prohibited, as tending to increase the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere; which is already so fatal that very few aged men are to be found among those who labour in it, and none of their wives or daughters are allowed to descend to them under any pretence. Its effect upon the boys employed there is painfully palpable; they are thin, wiry, and dwarfed; we had two of them attending our party with lights, and even after

having been made aware of the pernicious influence of the air, I guessed each of them at six years less than their actual age.

We spent upwards of an hour in strolling through this section of the mine, in order to give time to the workmen for completing a bore on which they were labouring, to enable me to witness a blast; our conductor obligingly putting more hands to the work to expedite its completion; and during this hour we only encountered three miners, although nearly three hundred were at the moment employed in that particular hemisphere; a fact which will give you a better idea of this subterranean wilderness than any attempt to describe its extent.

There was something almost infernal in the picture which presented itself when we at length returned to the spot where the next blast was to take place. A vast chasm of dark rock was terminated by a wooden platform on which stood the workmen, armed with heavy iron crow-bars, whose every blow against the living stone gave back a sound like thunder. One small lamp suspended by a hook to a projecting fragment served

to light them to their labour; and it was painful to see their bare and sinewy arms wield the ponderous instrument, which at each stroke sent a quiver throughout their whole frame. I ascended this platform, which was raised about six feet from the rock-cumbered floor of the gallery, in order to see the process of stopping the bore; and thence I had a full view of the frightful scene presented by the vault.

Above me, the rock had been rent to such a height, that the lamps of the guides failed to afford a glimpse of aught save dense, pitchy darkness, losing itself in its own shadows; beside me toiled the group of miners, thin, sallow, scantily clothed, and scarcely human-looking, but seeming rather as they plied their Cyclopean labour, like a knot of demons preparing for some unholy sacrifice; beneath me stretched away far beyond my vision the vapoury gallery, where the dense mists were writhing and curling in suffocating eddies; while immediately under the platform sat or stood such of our party as had been too idle or too prudent to ascend it.

The flames of the lamps, oppressed by the

weight of the atmosphere, did little more than define their outline, which in their bandit-looking dresses scarcely tended to give even a touch of human-seeming to the grand but supernatural aspect of the place; and, in short, during the few seconds in which I contemplated in silence the dark wonders about me, I felt as I had assuredly never felt before.

At length the bore was completed, and a small canvas bag of gunpowder was inserted into the hollow, nothing remaining to be done but to add the fire by which it was to be exploded. This is applied in a substance which it requires some seconds to penetrate, in order to give the workmen time to retreat to a place of safety. We, of course, declined to remain for this latter ceremony, and as

"The better part of valour is discretion,"

made our way, before the insertion of the inflammable matter, to the spot which had been already decided on as that whence we might safely await the explosion: a large opening, situated behind an abrupt projection where an exhausted gallery

terminated, and where no mass of rock could reach us in its fall; and we had scarcely crowded together in our retreat, ere we were followed by the workmen at the top of their speed, who, after having secured the aperture which it had cost them so many hours of labour to effect, had rushed to the same spot for safety from the effects of their own toil.

There we remained for full three minutes in silence, listening to the quick panting of these our new associates, ere the mighty rock, riven asunder by the agency and cupidity of man, yielded to a power against which after centuries of existence, it yet lacked the power to contend, and with gigantic throes gave up the hidden treasures it had so long concealed.

Surely there can be no convulsion of nature produced by artificial means so terrible and overwhelming in its effects as the blasting of a mine! First comes an explosion, as though the whole artillery of an army burst on the ear at once; and the vast subterranean gives back an echo like the thunders of a crumbling world; while amid the din there is the crash of the mighty rocks which

are torn asunder, and fall in headlong ruin on every side; each as it descends awaking its own echo, and adding to the uproar: then, as they settle in wild ruin, massed in fantastic shapes, and seeming almost to bar the passage which they fill, the wild shrill cry of the miners rises above them, and you learn that the work of destruction is accomplished, and that the human thirst of gain has survived the shock, and exults in the ruin that it has caused.

So strange and exciting an effect does this phenomenon produce, that I actually found myself shouting in concert with the poverty-stricken men about me, governed by my nerves rather than my reason, and with as little cause for exultation as themselves. To me it was nothing that another portion of the earth had been torn asunder, thews and sinews, and scattered abroad in fragments; it could not operate upon my individual fortunes; and the shirtless wretches about me, who had raised a wild clamour that would have seemed to indicate that they rejoiced over a benefit obtained, like myself had only obeyed their excited senses; for they were poor, and overtoiled, and shirtless as

ever, even though the rock which they had just riven should have opened a mine of wealth!

But it was not so. My visit had wrought them no good fortune: and I am reluctantly obliged to confess that the labour carried on in my particular honour proved to be a false blast; for the rock gave not up one particle of silver; and not even that which I distributed in another shape could quite dispel the disappointment of the miners. They had never seen a female at that depth before; and, with the superstition common to their calling, they had quite believed that my presence must betoken "luck."

I need not explain that this last explosion had by no means improved the nature of the atmosphere, and we were accordingly not slow in preparing to depart. But my entreaties to descend now yet lower proved abortive; not an individual of the party would listen to me; and I found myself compelled to obey from sheer incapacity to persist; and I knew moreover that I must husband my powers of persuasion in order to induce my companions to permit me to ascend by the chain, an operation so formidable that it

had never yet been contemplated by one of my own sex.

To me, the ascent by tiers of six and thirty ladders appeared infinitely more distressing than any process where violent bodily exertion was rendered unnecessary by machinery; and I consequently felt no inclination to retreat when I was requested to look up and down the shaft near the centre of which I stood, and to examine the chain by which I was to be drawn up, and the leathern strap upon which I was to be seated.

There could be no positive danger where both were solid; and it was perfectly clear that if barrels of ore could be drawn up by the same means, my weight and that of the miner who was to ascend with me, must be very inconsiderable in comparison. I therefore only requested that the apparatus might be got ready; and amid the wondering murmur of the men who steadied the chain, took my seat upon the sling; and having been raised about six feet above the mouth of the trap, hung suspended until my companion followed my example.

We then commenced our ascent; and although

the sensation was very peculiar, it did not strike me that it was one calculated to create terror. All was dark above; and save the lamp which was attached to the arm of my companion, all was dark below; consequently there was nothing in the aspect of the shaft to shake the nerves. The only inconvenience arose from the occasional twisting of the chain, which from its great length (nearly six hundred feet) occasionally swung us suddenly round, and then righted itself with a jerk, when we had to guard our knees from contact with the timbers which lined the sides of the pit; but save this temporary drawback, the motion was rather agreeable, and wet and weary as I was, I should have preferred ascending thus half a dozen times, to braving the fatigue of the ladders.

The men who regulated the wheel by which the chain was worked, and who had been warned to be peculiarly careful on account of my probable ascent, had, it appeared, been so perfectly satisfied that a sight of the shaft would deter me from ascending it, that when I rose through the upper doors, and the trap fell under me, they ut-

tered one simultaneous cry; and left me for a moment unassisted, in the extremity of their astonishment.

I had by this time become so thoroughly chilled by the weight of my damp clothes, that I was delighted to see all the party (several of whom ascended by the ladders) once more assembled round the mouth of the pit, ready to depart; and it was with comparative satisfaction I learnt that I was to continue my egress from Bacherstollen by a still more convenient mean, M. de Svaiczer having had the kindness to order a railroad carriage to be prepared for us.

I found that this commodious method of conveying the metal had been practised ever since the year 1825, and that by this road the two miles which had cost me so much fatigue, discomfort, and time on entering the mine, could be got over in ten minutes without exertion or suffering.

The gallery through which it runs has been entirely produced by manual labour without any blasting, which was avoided on account of its contiguity to the surface; one instance having occurred in the body of the mine where the rock

torn away by an explosion was not more than ten fathoms beneath the foundation of a dwelling-house, whose inhabitants heard the report of the blast, and felt the shock distinctly; by no means an agreeable domestic episode!

It is impossible to imagine what scarecrows we were when the light of day once more shone upon us, nor how oppressive the heat of the sun appeared when we emerged from the mouth of the mine: as for me, I could scarcely move under the weight of my clinging garments, and did not recover from my exhaustion until I had plunged in a tepid bath; by whose beneficial effects I was, after an hour's repose, enabled to prepare for M. Svaiczer's dinner.

I wish that I could do justice to the courteous urbanity and kindness of this talented gentleman; but feeling how inadequate any praise of mine must prove in such a case, I can only declare, that among my most pleasant and enduring memories will be the obligations which I am under to him, both as a traveller and as a stranger.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ROYAL CASTLE—FEUDAL REMAINS—THE UNIVERSITY—THE CHURCHES—THE PLAGUE-COLUMN—THE TOWN-HALL—GEOLOGICAL CABINET—THE PROFESSOR—THE LIBRARY—MINING COSTUME—PRESSING FOR THE MINES—LOW SALARIES—WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN—STATION-CHAPELS—THE WOODEN CROSS.

THE town of Schemnitz, as I have already hinted to you, is not in itself picturesque. One long straggling street, with here and there a good house, ascends the side of a steep hill, whereon stands the *Zsolyom*; the only portion of which now left entire is a turreted gateway that has been very judiciously converted into a schoolhouse. From this main street two or three lateral ones branch away to the right and left; but there is not a public building in the city calculated to excite the curiosity, or to arrest the attention of the traveller.

The Royal Castle is in ruins; and the only object of interest which we discovered within its walls was the iron door of a burial-vault, elaborately inscribed with the names and titles of the noble lady who slept within, and prayers for her eternal repose. A large tableau, cast in the metal above the inscription, represented the Virgin, extending her hand from the cloud whereon she sat, to raise a soul from the flames of purgatory. Wild-flowers veiled the threshold, and rust had gathered upon the hinges, but it was a fitting accompaniment to the ruin without.

Crumbling arches and tottering walls, whose solid masonry would have seemed to defy decay, but which had yielded to the tooth of time, were half overgrown with trees, and mosses, and lichens; while here and there it was easy to trace the dimensions of a chamber, or the shape of a tower; but beyond this nothing remained of the Royal Castle of Schemnitz to tell of its past glory, though it is said that kings feasted in its halls, and barons trod its ramparts.

The situation is very fine, commanding the valley through its whole extent, and looking

upon the noble range of mountains which is terminated by the Szitna; while the appearance of the ruin itself would imply that it had once been of considerable extent.

This, and the Jungfernschloss at the other extremity of the city, are the only feudal remains now perceptible. The University is a plain, unpretending building, remarkable only for its size: the churches are by no means interesting either externally or internally, although one of them is said to have been founded by the Knights-Templars; and like those of all mining cities they are cumbered with tinsel and trumpery; the lateral altars crowded with images, the walls lined with bad pictures, and the chapels festooned with *ex-votos*.

The most remarkable erection in the city is decidedly the Plague-column in the great square, which is flanked by four pillars of porphyry, and approached by noble steps of the same material; but even here the eye is pained by the gilding and white paint that disfigure the statues by which it is surrounded. The town-hall, with the prisons beneath, is a square building without

mark or likelihood, and differing in nothing from a large dwelling-house. Indeed, the only edifice that struck me particularly was a sort of market with some handsome balconied apartments above, at whose windows I caught a glimpse of two of the prettiest women that I had seen in Hungary; the very country, *par excellence*, of female beauty.

We visited the geological cabinet; and I only regret that I am not scientific enough to describe many specimens with which I was particularly delighted. It is true that Hungary has been ransacked to enrich the Museum at Vienna; and that ere she had museums of her own, (and sooth to say she may take shame to herself that they are of very recent formation,) all the curious or costly minerals which were found throughout the country were naturally sent to Vienna; but now that she has begun to feel the value and utility of such collections, the rapidity with which they are amassed is wonderful, for the whole land is rife with geological treasures. The amethysts, opals, crystals, and chalcedony are beautiful; and the petrifactions are finer than any that I ever saw elsewhere.

We walked through the University, of which the extreme cleanliness is the only striking feature; attended by the chemical professor, to whose patient and talented courtesy we were extremely indebted; and we lingered long in his laboratory, where he obligingly exhibited several very curious experiments. But I liked him even better among his minerals than amid his drugs, for he was so simply and earnestly enthusiastic; he handled them like pet children, placed them in various lights, expatiated on their form and rarity, and, in short, won us to an interest almost equal to his own.

While on the subject of minerals, I may as well mention that I was considerably amused by the gravity with which an Hungarian gentleman, a real patriot, and a very amiable and clever man, when we were one day talking together of the extraordinary geological riches of his country, mentioned to me his regret that several unique specimens which ought now to be in the cabinet at Pesth, had, from the want of a national institution, been given to that of Vienna; and asked

me whether I did not think that they should now be reclaimed.

Imagine the dismemberment of the finest mineralogical collection in the world, produced by such a single-hearted request! The fiat which accomplished the destruction of the gallery of the Louvre could not have been more bitter and unwelcome; for nine-tenths of the specimens which are the boast and pride of the German collection are the production of this prolific land.

The Library of Schemnitz is composed almost entirely of geological and mineralogical works, and ancient manuscripts. They are all accessible to the students, who are permitted, by entering their names in a book, to remove them to their own rooms for the purposes of study; and it is fortunate for them that they have this resource for the long winter evenings, as there exist no public amusements of any kind. Some of the young men devote their leisure hours to music, and are proficients in the science: but few of them associate with the inhabitants of the city; and their only *point de réunion* is a *Café* in the

great square, where they read the journals at three weeks' date, smoke their meerschaums, and play billiards.

Their dress is extremely picturesque and becoming; a vest of green cloth with padded sleeves strapped with silver braid, a casquette and overalls of the same material; and a girdle of black leather cut very deep behind, to preserve the person from contact with the rough and humid walls of the galleries.

I was assured that great numbers of peasants are *pressed* for the service of the mines, on the same principle that conscripts are raised for the army; and that in some cases, where levies are required for each, the choice is left to the serf which profession he will adopt. I can easily believe that this arrangement must be absolutely necessary; as the low salary paid to some of the workmen, (which by referring to an extract from the mining tariff will be found to be only 40 florins annually,) can assuredly be no temptation to any individual, however wretched, to immure himself from sunrise to midday among the unwholesome vapours of a mine, shut out from life

and light, half-fed, half-clothed, and exhausting his physical strength as rapidly as he stultifies his moral powers.

Most of the actionary mines have, as may be understood from their names, their peculiar patron saint; but all the miners pay the blindest and most enthusiastic worship to the Virgin. In every church and chapel throughout the mining districts her shrine is that which absorbs the offerings and prayers of the pious; indeed, to such a pitch is this devotion carried, that the Deity is almost set aside; and the Saviour is rather worshipped as *her* son than as the Redeemer of the world.

I was painfully impressed by this lamentable fact on my ascent to the Calvary, where, in each of the station-chapels, the groups, representing different passages in the life of Christ, all bore reference rather to the sufferings of Mary than to those of our Lord; and instead of texts drawn from the sacred writings, they were explained by such mottoes as the following: "His pangs were great upon the Cross; but thine were more bitter twentyfold, O Mary! Mother of the world."

On our descent from the Calvarienberg, we walked through the churches, and paid particular attention to this circumstance, when we found it to be universal; and carried to a greater extreme than in any Catholic country which I had yet visited.

Throughout the whole of Hungary crosses are common by the way-side; and the crucifixion is usually accompanied by a figure of the Virgin standing at the feet of the dying Saviour, with one, and sometimes six spears sticking in her bosom, and an expression of agony upon her countenance which compels the attention of the passer-by, and withdraws it entirely from the principal figure.

It is really a relief in the neighbourhood of Schemnitz, to turn away from these perverted and perverting human inventions, and to look upwards to the tall cross which is erected on a mountain above the city. It stands alone upon the height, is of gigantic proportions, and is simply formed of a tree with a transverse bar nailed across it, presenting altogether a more fitting and affecting memorial of the Great Sacrifice than any laboured

and elaborate effort of human imagination. The busy streets lie beneath it, with their coil, their conflict, and their commerce; the broad blue sky is above and about it; and on all sides are seen the upheaped and calcined mounds of rubbish flung out of the exhausted mines, making mimic mountains in the lower lands. Traces of human labour are perceptible throughout the whole landscape; and there, soaring into the clouds, stands that gigantic cross, like a beacon beckoning from the toils of earth to the repose of heaven.

It perhaps produced the greater impression upon me, because it contrasted so grandly with the gaudy and meretricious shrines about it.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HOTEL — TRAVELLING ACCOMMODATIONS — THE PEASANT AND HIS TEAM—NYITRA.

I HAVE already mentioned that we occupied apartments at *Zum Hochen Hause*, said to stand over the first mine that was sprung at Schemnitz; and as it is accordingly an historical pile, it may perhaps be expected that I should give some description of it. Let my reader then imagine a large *porte cochère*, giving ingress to a paved yard or court, full of carts, waggons, poultry, and manure; a dark and narrow flight of stone steps on the right-hand, affording a mean of escape from its sights and scents, only to poison the visitor with an atmosphere ten times more pestilential; and terminating in a gallery running round the said court, with chambers opening from it, precisely after the fashion of an eastern Caravanseraï, and not one whit more inviting.

From this gallery we entered a room paved with brick, where a couple of laundresses were busily employed in washing; on our right-hand was the kitchen, and before us the public eating-room, whence a door opened into the apartments destined for our particular use; one of which, to use the French term, "gave upon" the main street.

Tallow candles of the most rank and unctuous description lit up a large square space, with the traces of damp everywhere perceptible on the walls, which was furnished with two beds, as many tables, (one of them being a fixture in the middle of the floor,) half a dozen chairs of the most primitive description, a looking-glass suspended between the windows, and two—what shall I call them? for I dare not say "spitting-boxes," the good, honest, uncompromising title by which they are known throughout Germany,—what shall it be then?—two *expectoration-receptacles*, which, strange to say, were the only objects in the whole apartment affecting a certain degree of taste, for the saw-dust—(faugh! how one loathes the subject!)—was contained in two vases of maple-wood, shaped like the funereal urns of the ancients.

Such was the "best room" of *Zum Hochen Hause;* therefore it will be at once apparent that we had no particular inducement to remain "at home" more than was absolutely necessary; and that I did not linger at Schemnitz in order to "take mine ease in mine inn," when we had once explored the "lions."

When the time for our departure arrived, and that we had said farewell to the very obliging acquaintance who had rendered our short sojourn in the city so agreeable, we began to be somewhat impatient for the arrival of the *Vorspann* horses and their driver; but for the first hour we remembered that we were in Hungary, and bore his delay with a very tolerable grace; and it was not until a a second had gone by, and that we recalled our night-journey to Kremnitz, that we held a cabinet council, wherein, as my mother was president, we came to the very prudential determination, that if there were horses for hire in the town, we would at once secure them, and start.

This, by the expiration of a third hour, our courier accomplished; and we had the satisfaction,

when about half a league from the town, to encounter the peasant with his team, calmly moving along at a footpace, with his pipe in his mouth, and the harness,—if so indeed I may denominate the mysterious combination of cord and leather which in this country is made to answer the purpose,—tied up in a knot, and strapped upon one of the horses. Thus, at a moderate calculation, had we awaited his arrival at Schemnitz, and the arranging of the said cord and leather, we should have spent at least the whole of the forenoon in inaction.

We took a cross-road back to Presburg, having thoroughly satisfied ourselves that we could not easily change for the worse; and we travelled *à bride abattue*, being anxious to arrive there with as little delay as possible. I shall therefore only mention, that we dined at Nyitra, a pretty town pleasantly seated in a plain surrounded by vine-covered heights, dotted over with garden-houses, and dominated by an isolated rock, crowned with a castle founded by St. Stephen, and consequently of very respectable antiquity. The

Bishop's palace is a modern and extensive pile, but in wretched taste; the municipal hall is not distinguished by any remarkable feature; nor, in short, did we find anything sufficiently attractive in Nyitra to detain us.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HUNGARIAN DIET—FALSE REPORTS—CONSTITUTION OF THE CHAMBERS—THE UPPER HOUSE—THE LOWER HOUSE—THE HALL—MIXED SESSIONS—ORDER OF THE HOUSE—CIRCULAR MEETINGS—REFORM DIET—STATE TRIALS—COUNT RÁDAY—HALL OF THE MAGNATES.

It is not without considerable diffidence that I approach the subject of the Hungarian Diet; for judging from the extraordinary effect which it produced upon myself, I may well apprehend some degree of incredulity in my readers, when I endeavour to describe its actual nature, and to give a perfect idea of its constitution.

Even in Vienna—where the truth must or should be known—the most lamentable fallacies are boldly put forth with regard to this great national assembly.

It is represented to the stranger as a meeting of turbulent orators; whose words are loud, and whose

labour is but loss of time; a gathering together of factious semi-barbarians, craving they know not what; clamouring for an independence of action which they would obtain only to misuse; and violent in proportion to their ignorance: and should he venture a doubt by pointing to a Széchenyi, a Batthyany, or a Deák, he is netly told that these are the travelled, and consequently *humanized* exceptions to the rule; and that however noxious they may be in principle, they are nevertheless not to be confounded with the rude mass of would-be legislators calling themselves the Hungarian Diet.

We fortunately arrived in Presburg during the sitting of the Chambers, and lost no time in witnessing the interesting spectacle which they present of a body of men, most of them noble by birth, legislating for a country which, despite centuries of intestine war, and the struggle which they necessarily entail, still exists like an oasis of liberty amid a desert of despotism. It was strange and startling to remember, that within nine hours' journey of Vienna—surrounded by absolute governments like those of Austria, Turkey, and Russia—the iron link being broken only by the frontier of ruined

Poland, standing like a sign and a warning to the nations—a race still existed who had resolutely flung the yoke of despotism from their necks, and dared, despite the intrigues of cabinets, and the threats of power, to assert their rights.

And even such is the Hungarian Diet; a legislative assembly which has endured for seven centuries, having been instituted only five years later than the Parliament of England; and which has survived internal warfare, foreign invasion, external tyranny, private truckling, and all the contrarieties to which such an institution, so placed, has been necessarily exposed.

It is composed, as with us, of an Upper and a Lower Chamber, (or, as they are here designated, "Tables,") the Magnates answering to the Lords, and the Deputies to the Commons of England. Every motion emanates from the Lower House; being first canvassed by an unformal assembly called a "Circular Meeting," where the real or presumed benefits to accrue from it are debated fully and freely, before it is formally put forward as a question by the Deputies.

The Upper House is presided by the Palatine in

person; and consists ecclesiastically of the Prince-Primate, Archbishop of Gran; the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Diocesan Bishops; the Greek Diocesan Bishops; the Roman Catholic Titular Bishops; the Schismatic Greek Archbishop and Diocesan Bishops; the Lord Abbot of Martinsberg, and the Premonstrateuse Provost of Iászó. The lay members of the Chamber are the Palatine, (who is also by virtue of his office the Supreme Count of the county of Pesth,) all the great Dignitaries of the realm, the Supreme Counts of Counties, the Governor of Fiume, all titular Princes, Counts, and Barons who are of age, and maintain establishments of their own;* and, finally, one Deputy of Sclavonia and Croatia.

The President of the Lower House (who is designated *Personalis præsentiæ Regiæ locum tenens*) also presides over the Royal Court of Justice at

* It is customary for the Government to call these young nobles to the House in their twenty-fifth year; but there have been cases (where the principles of the individual have been known to be liberal,) in which no summons has been sent; and several of the junior Magnates who now form a part of the assembly, have taken their seats spontaneously, without *appeal* or comment.

Pesth. Immediately behind him are placed all the members of his court, amounting (independently of himself,) to twenty-two persons; but they have not the privilege of addressing the Chamber, nor have they any vote. In the same division of the Hall sit two deputies from Croatia, the Abbots, and the representatives of the Roman Catholic Chapters.

Nothing can be imagined more plain and unpretending than the Hall itself. It is an oblong square, lighted on either hand by a double tier of windows, and having a gallery on two of its sides for the accommodation of ladies, and such of the public as prefer it to the body of the Chamber. The upper division just alluded to is separated from that appropriated to the Deputies by a balustrade, close to which is placed the table of the President, and it occupies about one third of the floor; the remainder of the space being traversed, nearly to the extremity of the building, by three long tables covered with green baize, at which are seated the Deputies of counties and free towns; and the proxies of the absent Magnates, Princes, Counts, Barons, and Prelates, who do not appear

personally in the Upper House; and the Proxies of noble widows, who although they possess the right of addressing the meeting, are nevertheless disqualified to vote.

The precedence of the Deputies for counties is determined; but none is observed either among the Deputies for towns, or Proxies. Next after the representatives of counties rank the Count of Turopolya, (a privileged district in Croatia,) two Deputies from the district of the Cumanes and Tazyges, two from the Hajdus, and one from Littoral Fiume.

Each county, principal free town, and large chapter sends two members to the Chamber. The votes of the counties and of Croatia only are counted; and the counties in number amount to fifty-two, each having *one* vote. The Deputies of the free towns, chapters, free districts, and proxies have merely an *informative*, or at best a *collective* vote, bearing no decision; and thus the whole strength of the Lower Chamber centres in the counties; which, possessing independent municipalities, never allow the other members to carry a measure by their votes; nor is it asserting too much to declare that

by this arrangement the free constitution of the country has been preserved; as the Deputies for towns, who are generally self-elected, are so universally dependent that it is extremely rare to find one among them bold enough to support the liberal interest, and to oppose the government. It is almost needless to add that the Ecclesiastics are similarly circumstanced, and that there is never an instance of their swerving from the broad principle of self-preservation and self-aggrandisement; for the rapacity of their church has long been proverbial.

According to the calendar of the present Diet, (1839,) there are two hundred members in the Upper House, and about four hundred in the Lower; but if each Ecclesiastic or Magnate were to attend in person, or send a Proxy; or, again, if each Proxy represented only *one* person, (some now officiating for several,) and each town furnished two members, the total of the Diet would amount to about eight hundred.

Occasionally members of both the Chambers meet in the Hall of the Magnates; as, for instance, when the "Representations" of the two Houses

are sealed up, and forwarded to the Sovereign; and when the King's "Resolution" (so are designated his replies to the addresses of the States,) are opened and published. These meetings are called *Sessio Mixta*, and during their occurrence, the Personal-President takes his seat about the centre of the table, among the Supreme Counts; the other members of the Lower House sitting or standing wherever they can find room.

Hungary is theoretically or geographically divided into four Circles; one on either bank of the Danube, and one on each shore of the Theiss (*Tibiscus*). These four Divisions, or Circles, formerly held their separate or preparatory meetings during the Diet, in which they discussed questions of national expediency; but of late years they have united their consultations, which are hence called "Circular Meetings." Their proceedings, like those of the more formal Chambers, are always public; and all respectably-dressed persons are admitted both to the body of the Hall and the gallery.

The transaction of business is regular and methodical. The Diet is convoked triennially, and usually lasts about four months; although instances

sometimes occur (as in that which terminated in 1836,) when it exists for years.

The order of the House is this. The Royal Propositions, and every Resolution or Rescript of Government is read in the *Mixed Sessions* by one of the four Prothonotaries, who are all members of the Royal Court of Justice; acting, during the sitting of the Diet, as secretaries to the Upper Chamber, as well as to the regular or Formal Meetings of the Lower. This done, every portion of the address is canvassed, as before stated, in the Circular Meetings, which have latterly become of vast importance.

One secretary or notary for each Circle is elected by ballot from among the Deputies themselves; and on the opening of the Diet, these functionaries draw up, according to the decision of the majority of the Chamber, all these *Acts*, which, in the formal meetings of the States*, are read by the Prothonotaries, and afterwards discussed. The Presidents are changed weekly; one Danubian and one Tibiscan Deputy officiating throughout the session

* The two Chambers collectively are entitled "The Imperial States;" the representatives of the Lower Chamber simply "The States."

for their given period, and acting according to the date of their seats. The Deputies of towns and chapters, and the Proxies of absent Magnates, also attend these Informal Assemblies, but are ineligible as Presidents.

When the Circular Meetings have terminated their preparatory discussions, and have transcribed their decision in the form of a Message to the Upper House, the Circular Presidents make a report to the Personalis, intimating that the States have concluded the question in that particular shape; whereupon this functionary calls a full, or Formal Chamber, where the message is read and discussed a second time; and after being approved and sanctioned by the majority, is forwarded by a deputation selected by the Personalis, (of which the leader and organ is always an Ecclesiastic,) to the Upper House. This deputation merely salutes the meeting, and delivers the written message into the hands of the Magnates; who, on its receipt, immediately commence their deliberations on its contents, which are read aloud by the same Prothonotary who had previously read it in the other

Chamber, and who takes his place in the centre of the table among the bishops.

The Magnates then discuss the message* and measures of the States; introduce modifications; assent or dissent according to their judgment; and having come to a decision, cause the result of their conference to be noted down by the Prothonotary, and to be sent to the Lower Chamber by a deputation from their own; consisting of a Bishop (always the speaker), a high Dignitary, and several Supreme Counts, and titular Counts and Barons, all chosen by the Palatine, as President of the Diet; and this exchange of messages is continued until the Chambers have become unanimous, when

* In an Appendix at the end of the work will be found one of these messages at length, as it has been thought expedient to give by these means a more perfect idea of the manner in which the Tables transact business. That on Freedom of Speech has been selected, as being most generally interesting, and when it is remembered that these documents are not allowed to be printed even in the country, it is believed that the one in question, as well as those by which it is accompanied, (the whole of which have been obtained with extreme difficulty,) cannot fail to be read with much curiosity.

the agreement is drawn up in the form of a "Representation" to the Sovereign, sealed up in a *Sessio Mixta*, and forwarded by the Palatine to the King.

In the Circular Meetings, the speakers follow each other in the order in which they have announced their intention of addressing the assembly, by a signal to one of the Presidents, who notes their names as they occur; and not the slightest confusion ever takes place. Every member stands up in his proper place, speaks standing, and having terminated his speech, quietly resumes his seat; when the next in rotation immediately rises, and pursues the subject.

In the Formal Meetings of the House, as well as in the Hall of the Magnates, members intending to speak, rise, and remain standing until their turn comes; suffering all such as have previously given this intimation of their purpose to speak before them.

The Magnates open their speeches thus:—"Most Serene Prince, Archduke of Austria, Palatine of the Realm; and most Illustrious Lords;" and the Deputies commence with, "Illustrious

Presidents, and Respectable States:" an address which is frequently reiterated during the progress of the harangue.

In the Upper House the Palatine, and the Prince Primate, and such Bishops as are Cardinals, do not rise to speak; but even the Prelate when not a Cardinal must speak standing. In the Lower House the President addresses the Chamber whenever he sees fit to do so, always rising for the purpose; and as he is expected to reply to any argument from a Liberal member which may tend, if left unanswered at the moment, to affect the question under discussion, his appointment is no sinecure.

The Circular Meetings have hitherto kept no record of their proceedings, but a diary is now about to be established in which all their decisions are to be entered. The transactions of the Formal Meetings of the Chamber are taken down by members of the Royal Court of Justice, afterwards scrutinized by censors elected by ballot from among the Deputies themselves, and ultimately printed.

Independently of this day-book, which contains

the debates and speeches in detail, the transactions entitled "Acts" are lithographed in separate volumes; and the more important documents, such as the Royal Propositions, the Representations, and Resolutions, &c., are printed singly immediately after their publication in the Chambers.

The less definite Acts, such as the Messages of the two Houses, are copied for the speakers from dictation by a number of young men called *Jurates*, or clerks, employed by the different members of the Diet; some of whom retain as many as ten in their service; although numbers of these youths act gratuitously, in order to become conversant with the affairs and routine of the Diet, that in the event of their subsequently becoming Deputies, they may have fitted themselves for their legislative duties.

The "Initiative," that is, the right of introducing any bill, (here called *motion*,) is possessed only by the King, and the Lower Chamber. The Sovereign exercises it in the "Propositions" which form the principal features of the debates; the States, or Deputies, being free to bring forward any subject for discussion which they may think

proper to lay before the House. The Magnates never originate a motion, but discuss only those which emanate from the Deputies.

At the close of each session the final concessions of the Sovereign in reply to the Representations of the Diet are framed into laws, and published throughout all the municipalities both in Hungarian and Latin. This has been the case since the year 1836; and all addresses have been subsequently made in both Chambers in the Hungarian language, save those of the Palatine, the Bishop of Agram, the Supreme Counts of the Croation counties, and the Deputy of Croatia in the Upper House; and the Deputies of Croatia and of the Croatian Chapters in the Lower; which are still delivered in Latin.

All transactions between the two Chambers are carried on in Hungarian—the Representations to the Sovereign are drawn up laterally in Hungarian and Latin, the former being, however, by a recent decree, to be considered henceforward as the *original* or responsible language, in the event of any technical difficulty; and the Resolution of the King only in Latin; but the States are still urgent

for the total exclusion of the dead language from all public affairs, and the complete substitution of their national tongue. This concession is constantly and earnestly urged by both Houses; but they have not hitherto (Sept. 1839,) obtained more than has been already cited; and even that was most reluctantly ceded to them; many of the Magnates in the employ and interest of the government having opposed the measure, and supported the King in his refusal.*

The Diet which was convoked in 1832, and which only terminated in 1836, was essentially a Reform Diet. The first subject taken into consideration by the Chambers was the amelioration of the laws existing between the peasant and his lord; which were old remnants of feudal barbarism, reducing the *bauern* of Hungary to the condition of mere serfs, and giving them no part in the moral advancement of the country; and the expediency of establishing new and more equitable relations between the two classes.

* Before the author left Hungary, in March 1840, all the points insisted on by the States had been conceded, save only in the case of the "Resolutions" of the Sovereign.

Thus the Liberal party throughout the kingdom, (including of course the representatives in the Lower Chamber,) sought to obtain an edict by which the peasantry would be permitted to redeem their duties and *corvées* from their landlords at a given price, to be mutually agreed upon, *à perpétuité;* but this measure was vehemently opposed by the Oligarchy and the government party.

During the earnest discussions to which so important a subject naturally gave rise, the Baron Wesselényi spoke very strongly in favour of the measure in a general county meeting, (where the principal and supplementary instructions are detailed for the Deputies,) and made use, during the progress of his speech, of several harsh expressions against the government; among the rest, that "Austria was sucking the marrow of the Hungarian peasantry;" inveighing bitterly at the same time against those among the Magnates who, in order to secure their places under the Empire, clung to their old prejudices, which they misnamed *privileges*, and retarded the moral advancement of the country, by impeding the establishment of a

law tending to improve the social position of between eight and nine millions of the unprivileged classes.

For these, and other expressions of the like kind, the Baron was impeached for High Treason, tried, and sentenced both by the Royal Court of Justice, and the Supreme Court of Appeal, to three years' imprisonment.

At the same time several young men convicted of having held political meetings during the sitting of the previous Diet, where they had discussed the measures of the States, despite the fact that these meetings had been public, were also impeached for High Treason, and imprisoned under military law, such imprisonment being contrary to the national statutes; and lastly, a M. Kossuth, an attorney, was similarly confined, having been impeached and condemned for the publication and circulation (at Pesth) of a manuscript journal, in which all the debates and transactions of the Diet, and the public county meetings, were reported.

On one occasion he received official notice that this journal was illegal, as a law had been passed

prohibiting all such publications; to which he replied, that not having ever met with this law, he should not hold himself guilty of its violation until he was furnished with a copy, when he would immediately obey it. No further steps having been taken by the authorities with regard to the paper, he still continued to circulate it; and it was regularly supplied during several months to members of the government as well as to other subscribers, without producing either comment or objection.

Under these circumstances the political adherents of M. Kossuth considered him to have been harshly used; but one feature of his case nevertheless greatly weakened the public sympathy.

The Prince-Palatine having been informed that the journalist was a needy man, who had established the paper rather as a mean of providing for a dependent mother and sister than as a matter of principle, kindly sent to advise him to abstain from its publication, which would be certain to entail upon him the displeasure and persecution of the government, by which he must be ultimately ruined. For the second time M. Kossuth availed himself of a doubt; and expressed the

great difficulty which he felt to admit the flattering belief, that his Highness the Archduke could take sufficient interest in anything so insignificant as himself, to induce him to honour him by so direct an intimation; and it was in vain that the nobleman who had been entrusted with the mission asserted, and even pledged his honour to the fact, M. Kossuth remained humbly incredulous; and declared that nothing short of seeing it under the Palatine's own hand would suffice to convince him that so much graciousness had been exerted towards him; but that being convinced, he should feel it his duty to obey.

"His Highness the Archduke feels such anxiety to preserve your helpless family from ruin, that I believe he will even put his advice into writing to save them;" were the parting words of the somewhat indignant messenger; and as the event proved, he had not overrated the heart of his Imperial master, for the Archduke within eight-and-forty hours repeated in writing the same advice and warning; and on the next publication of the journal the Imperial letter was lithographed in *fac simile*, as a proof to M. Kossuth's readers of

the fear in which it was held by the Royalist party!

This act of treacherous ingratitude chilled many hearts towards its perpetrator; and all who now sympathise with the politician nevertheless condemn the man.

In consequence of the severe measures before alluded to, and of the speeches to which they gave rise, several other impeachments subsequently took place; and among the rest that of Count Ráday, a nobleman residing in Pesth, who, during a public meeting in that county, expressed his opinion that the sentence passed by the Supreme Courts of Justice, both upon M. Kossuth and the members of the political club already alluded to, were illegal; for which declaration he was placed by the government under what is here termed an *Action of Infamy*.

When the Count was afterwards elected by the county as its Deputy in the present Diet, the government refused to allow him to take his seat, in consequence of his being under process; and directed the county to make another selection. This order was disregarded; and in lieu of obedience,

the county offered a strong remonstrance against this interference with its privileges, and preferred its complaint to the Diet.

The majority of the countiesand of the Lower Chamber considering these impeachments, sentences, and imprisonments to be illegal encroachments on the constitutional liberty of speech, preferred them as one of their *Griefs (Gravamina)* against the government; the other being the alleged disqualification of Count Ráday as a representative; by which a free citizen has been injured in his personal liberty, impeded in his civil rights, and punished without legal conviction of any crime. Nor was this all, as the constitutional freedom of election became endangered by their permitting a precedent, whereby an individual under action by government was prevented from taking his seat in the Diet when called there by his county; and the rights of the Chamber itself were encroached upon, to which alone it belongs to decide on the fitness or unfitness of any individual to become a member of its body.

The decision of the House was, therefore, that it acknowledged Count Ráday as a representative;

and before other questions were discussed, desired that the *Griefs* relating to liberty of speech and freedom of election should be effectually remedied; that is to say, that all those who had been sentenced or imprisoned must be released, and Count Ráday allowed to take his seat in the Diet.

On these questions the Chamber could not agree; or rather, on the form in which the first Representation to the King should be sent up; the majority of the Lower Table desiring that the *Griefs* should be remedied in the first instance, when they declared themselves willing immediately to consider the Royal Propositions (of which the most important point is the demand of recruits for the Hungarian army); while the Upper House wished to consider the Royal Propositions at once, and afterwards to represent the *Griefs*.

The Diet had already been convoked some months, and several messages had been exchanged between the Chambers on the subject; when Count Ráday, on being a second time elected by the County, declared that rather than absorb the time of the States, and impede the progress of business, he declined the honour conferred on him,

and should not take his seat. I shall therefore probably have an opportunity of witnessing an Hungarian election, as the county of Pesth cannot remain without a representative.

The Hall of the Magnates is smaller in size and almost as simple in arrangement as that of the Deputies. The balustrade separating the centre of the apartment from the portions appropriated to the public is circular; the gallery occupies only the lower end of the room, and one long table extends nearly from the upper end to the extremity of the floor; this table is covered with green baize, and is flanked on either side by three tiers of seats. Those in the first rows are filled by the Judex Curiæ, the Prince-Primate, the Lord Treasurer, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Supreme Counts of Counties, the Provost Premonstrateuse of Iászó, the Grand Abbot of Martinsberg, and the Governor of Fiume.

Just above these, at a small table placed transversely, and covered with crimson velvet fringed with gold, and upon a chair similarly ornamented, sits the Palatine, as President of the Diet; the other Magnates taking place upon the remaining

chairs, and the body of the Hall being filled with auditors, principally members of the Lower Chamber, but all wearing braided coats and swords; and to an unaccustomed ear there is something strangely feudal in the occasional clank of a weapon upon the floor during the progress of the debates. Several handsome chandeliers are suspended from the ceiling, and the windows are admirably arranged for diffusing the light over the Chamber, but there is not the slightest attempt at ornament throughout the building.

Having attempted in this sketch, (which has only its correctness to plead in palliation of its crudity,) to give an idea of the constitution and internal economy of the Hungarian Diet, I trust that I may now venture to offer a description of its general effect upon a stranger and a foreigner.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LANDHAUS—THE SECOND TABLE—SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION—POLITICAL DILEMMA—LEGISLATIVE RIOT ACT—THE GALLERIES—STATE OF PARTIES—COSTUME—A GROUP OF HEADS.

It were difficult, if not impossible, to define the feeling with which I found myself looking upon the scene presented by the Lower Hall of the *Landhaus*. It was on the occasion of a Circular Meeting; and the first circumstance that struck me was the extreme order, and business-like appearance of the whole assembly. No listless loungers, occupying a couple of chairs with their elaborate idleness; no boots, looking as though they had collected all the dust or mud of a great thoroughfare; no members sitting with their hats on, as if tacitly to express their contempt both for their occupation and their colleagues, were to be seen even in the unformal and undress meeting of

the Hungarian Deputies. The tables were covered with papers, folio volumes containing the national laws, and the caps and gloves of the members; and the gallery was crowded with ladies, among whom I recognised the wives and daughters of some of the first nobles in the land; from whom I always experienced an amiable courtesy so general, and so much a mere matter of course with the high-bred women of Hungary, that its failure would have been to me a subject of surprise had it ever occurred.

The crowd who thronged the lower end of the Hall, and extended for some distance between the tables, were orderly and attentive; and the regularity with which the proceedings progressed was admirable; and, after all that I had been told on the subject of the "semi-barbarous legislators" of the country, surprised me no little.

During the speeches many of the members took copious notes, from which some few of them afterwards declaimed; but the facility with which the majority deliver themselves in a language, which, although that of their native land, has, until very recently, been almost a dead letter among the up-

per classes, is surprising. They use little or no action, but speak volubly and energetically; and there are certain individuals in the Chamber who render their speeches ornate by classical allusions and quotations, which, however, produce no effect save ennui and impatience, as the patriotic Hungarians are anxious to rid themselves altogether of the dead languages in their debates. I could not help smiling, when a member for Croatia rose and addressed the meeting in Latin, at the idea of the confusion which it would have caused in our House of Commons; and at the nervousness of many a worthy squire who had flung down his lexicon to grasp a hunting-whip, if he were called upon to assist in legislating for his country, by listening for three-quarters of an hour to a Latin oration which would put both our Universities on the *qui vive*.

In one respect the Hungarian people have the advantage of our own as regards their representation: no Deputy being permitted to vote against the feeling of his constituency. I allude, of course, in making this assertion, only to the members for counties whose votes carry weight; those of the

towns merely giving the individuals an opportunity of advancing their personal opinions, without influencing the measures of the House. Thus a Deputy is not responsible for his vote, which is regulated by the voice of the county that he represents in the Diet.

An instance of this popular privilege occurred during one of the first meetings which I attended. The *grief* before the House was that of Count Ráday, while the Royal Proposition was the levy of soldiers. The Liberal party were insisting on holding back the troops until the King withdrew his interference with the national right of freedom of speech in the Chambers; and the Government members were urging that the requisition should be first complied with, and the grievance afterwards discussed; when an eminent speaker in the royalist interest rose and addressed the meeting with great eloquence; expatiated on the impolicy of refusing soldiers to the Empire, who were as necessary to the well-being of Hungary herself as to the dignity of the King; urged that the question of Count Ráday should not be suffered for a moment to induce discourtesy from the Chambers to-

wards the Sovereign; and for upwards of half an hour advanced arguments, amidst the cheers of the Government party, which proved their satisfaction to be equal to his own zeal; when suddenly he concluded his address by saying:—"These are my opinions, my principles, and my views. I cannot look upon the question in any other light. But —I am instructed by the county which I represent, to vote with the opposition; and my vote must be registered accordingly."

It was curious to witness the effect of this transition. The acclamations of the Liberal party were deafening; and as the orator was the representative of one of the largest and most densely populated counties in Hungary, the loss to the Government interest was considerable.

But if the people have here a very valuable privilege, so have the Deputies themselves, in a point in which their personal vanity may well be believed to be susceptible. They may prose, and mouthe, and murder at once logic and time—and they will still be heard. It is true that strenuous attempts are occasionally made to cut short the orations of certain individuals, particularly the

members for towns and the ecclesiastics, as the tenor of their speeches is always known beforehand, and they merely occupy the time of the House without furthering the measures under debate; but the vociferous cries of *Halljuk! Halljuk!* (Hear! Hear!) which are intended to counteract their own implied purpose, are always promptly checked by the President; who, in the event of the continued contumacy of the Chamber, reads over a sort of legislative "riot act" that lies on his table, enjoining the calm attention of the assembly to every address from any one of its members.

This extreme measure always produces its effect; and if the Deputies *do* revenge themselves upon the stolid orator by taking that opportunity of drawing the public journals from their pockets, and quietly perusing their contents; or in performing the revolving courtesies of their numerous snuff-boxes, even although "the honourable gentleman may be inaudible in the galleries," he is still certain of being suffered to drone through his self-imposed task without the indignity of being "coughed down."

As the public are permitted to express their assent or dissent to every argument advanced under the same restrictions as the Deputies themselves, the burst of feeling is sometimes very vociferous; and a stranger can soon ascertain when a member on the Liberal side is about to speak, from the excitement and applause with which he is received.

There is one feature of Hungarian politics which forms so strange a contrast from our own, that I must not omit to mention it. It is generally understood that with us, the majority of the Liberal, or Opposition party, are the least wealthy of our legislators: men who have nothing to lose, and everything to gain by change; to whom agitation promises profit; and who may chance to further their fortunes in every political convulsion; while, as a general rule, it is the wealthy and the aristocratic who cling to conservatism; who uphold the institutions and principles of the constitution; and who support the existing order of things. In Hungary it is precisely the reverse; the Liberal party being, with very few exceptions, at once the most monied and the most noble

portion of the community. All the younger Magnates of ancient family are in the Opposition, save a few who have been bought over by places about the Court, flattering either to their vanity or their cupidity; and although at the first glance this appears to be an anomaly, it is in fact an apparent contradiction easily reconciled, when the political and social position of the country is taken into consideration.

The castled noble or the wealthy landholder can afford to be patriotic, if he have sufficient moral courage to resist the tempting honours of pageantry and place; he can afford to ameliorate the condition of his serfs, to make sacrifices to his country, to hold to his principles, and to declare them; while the less monied and more ambitious scion of a proud house, who needs gold wherewith to repair his ancestral halls, or power to give to him a consequence which his poverty denies, and at whose want his vanity revolts, must sell his independence in Hungary as well as elsewhere, to obtain them. Hence, should a Magyar rise in the house, and advance arguments tending to prevent the moral progression of his

country, or otherwise advocate principles obnoxious to the patriotic party, you learn that he is one of the Emperor's Chamberlains, or that he holds such or such a place at Vienna; and these individuals are by far the most violent opponents of improvement or reform with which Hungary has to contend; for every political Esau must endeavour not to *seem* bought, however well savoured may have been the mess of pottage; and many a drag upon the chariot-wheel, to which the King has been understood to have put his hand, has been appended there by these denationalized nobles.

It is a matter of course that the same cause which operates in the Upper Chamber should produce similar, and even more general effects in the Lower. The ambition which soars high it is naturally difficult to satisfy, while the falcon that seeks a less noble quarry, when launched is sure to strike its prey; and thus the aspiring of some, and the necessities of others, cause them to overlook the interests of their country in their own; and these orators are always the most loud, even although they may be the least self-convinced.

It has been asserted by some writers that on the occasion of a formal meeting of the Lower House, the members all attend in full Hussar costume; but this is an error. The Regulations of the Chamber indeed require that not only every Deputy, but also every visitor to the Hall, shall wear a sword, a braided coat, and the *kalpag* or national cap, save the military officers and ecclesiastics, who appear in the dress of their several professions; and such is also the case in all meetings of the Magnates; but this arrangement leaves so great a scope to individual taste and caprice, that the aspect of the assembly is infinitely more picturesque and characteristic than it could possibly be if merely presenting the appearance of a cavalry mess-room. Indeed, save in the East, I have never seen more pictorial groups than those presented by an assembly of the Hungarian States. There are the bishops in their loose robes of black silk, their gold chains and crosses, and their crimson scarfs; the elder gentry in their richly-furred frock-coats, and their kalpags of Astracan fur; the officers of rank with their green or scarlet pelisses laced with gold, and

their magnificent chakos; the younger and more fashionable members of the House in elaborately-braided waistcoats, with pendent crowns of bright-coloured kerseymere in their splendidly-embroidered caps, many of which are decorated with a heron-plume; and on all sides gold sword-belts, or crimson sashes, supporting weapons sheathed in polished steel, or carved ivory, or some other beautiful and showy material.

To this description of the general effect of the Chamber, I must also add that it would probably be difficult in any European country to collect within the same space an equal number of magnificent heads.

The general character of the Hungarian physiognomy is intelligence, and that perfect self-possession which is born of a feeling of freedom; the broad open brow, the clear full eye, and above all, the firm well-moulded mouth, give them a fine and chivalric appearance, which is peculiarly striking when they are seen collectively.

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICS AND PLACE — THE PRINCE-PALATINE — THE PRINCE-PRIMATE—THE JUDEX CURIÆ—BARON EÖTVÖS—ARCHBISHOP OF GRAN—COUNT JOSEPH TÉLÉKI —COUNT LADISLAUS TÉLÉKI — BARON VÉCSEY — COUNT CHARLES ESTERHÁZY—BARON MAITHÉNYI—COUNT STEPHEN SZECHÉNYI — COUNT GEORGE ANDRÁSY—BARON JOSEPH EÖTVÖS—MAGYAR MAGNATES —TRAVELLERS' TALES — THE PALATINE AS PRESIDENT OF THE DIET.

THE greater proportion of the Magnates who have seats and votes at the Upper Table do not personally attend the Diet, but are represented at the Lower by the "proxies" to whom allusion has already been made. Many others appear only when the Assembly of the Imperial States is convoked, and when it is dissolved; obtaining during the deliberations a dispensation from the Palatine as President of the Chambers, upon some pretext or other. Those who con-

stantly attend the Diet are few in number, and still more rare are those who avail themselves in every meeting of their right to vote; or, in other words, who address the Chamber,—as in the Hungarian House of Representatives, none are competent to vote on any question upon which they have not spoken.

At the Upper Table there is never a regular division or "*votisation*" as it is termed; but every member declares his opinion when he sees fit to do so, and the majority of *speakers* carry the measure.

It will not be uninteresting to those readers who desire to form an accurate idea of the Hungarian Legislation to be furnished with a few brief personal sketches of the most marked individuals composing the present Diet. Men of opposing parties and principles known in Hungary as in all the constitutional nations of Europe, by the names of Royalists and Liberals, Conservatives and Reformers, Constitutionalists and Absolutists, the Government party and the Opposition; but the peculiarity here exists in the fact that the idea of opposition is always identical

with that of liberalism; while it is scarcely necessary to add that there are different shades and degrees in both parties; moderates and ultras on either side. The members of the Upper House may further be divided into two distinct divisions—the employed, and the non-employed: men holding high Government offices; and others who derive their rank and privileges from their ancestors. It may be accepted however as a general rule that all *employés* belong to the Royalist-party, and vote for the Government; while the entire Opposition consists of independent Magnates, very few of which class profess the principles of the Austrian Cabinet.

The surest criterion for deciding on the political principles of a member of the Upper House is to watch the progress of the more important cases under discussion, wherein the national rights are placed in opposition to those of the Government, as for instance in the present Diet, the questions of Freedom of Election and Liberty of Speech; for in less weighty matters some even of the Court-party will coincide in opinion with the Liberals.

There are no particular places assigned, as in our Houses of Parliament, to the opposing factions—no ministerial or opposition side—every member being at liberty to place himself on the right or left of the hall; but latterly, as if by common consent, the Liberals have collected on the right hand of the Palatine behind the Bishops, and the Royalists have mustered their strength upon his left.

The most prominent personage of the Upper House is necessarily the Archduke Joseph, Prince-Palatine of Hungary, and President of the Imperial States, who does not derive his authority so much from his exalted birth, as from his high personal attributes; his moderation, wisdom, and experience; and the perfect knowledge of the Hungarian laws and feelings to which he has attained during the forty-five years which have elapsed, since elected by the free and spontaneous voice of the nation, he took possession of the first and most difficult civil office in the kingdom.*

* The Palatine is elected by the Diet out of four per-

I saw the Archduke Palatine for the first time in the Hall of the Magnates on the occasion of a *Sessio Mixta*. The gallery and the body of the Chamber were alike filled by a dense crowd, and had not my place been retained for me from an early hour, I should not assuredly have found even standing-room. The members themselves, however, were only assembling; a circumstance which I esteemed fortunate, as it gave me a better opportunity of distinguishing them individually as they entered.

I had only taken up my position a few minutes when my attention was directed to Joseph Kopácsy, the venerable Prince-Primate of Hungary, and Archbishop of Estergam (Gran), who took his seat at the top of the table on the right of the Palatine; his crimson skull-cap and long grey hairs forming a fine contrast from the mustachioed and military-looking men by whom he was surrounded. This Prelate is of noble but impo-

sons put in nomination by the Sovereign, two of whom are Protestants and two Catholics. The dignity is of life-tenure.

verished family: an evil to which his present enormous income will, however, doubtless, bring a very effectual remedy. He is the third personage in the realm; the second being:

M. George Majláth, who shortly afterwards walked to his place immediately opposite to the Prince-Primate. This gentleman enjoys a high judicial and intellectual reputation; and his mode of delivery is calm, emphatic, and assured. His logic is said to be admirable, and his judgment clear and dispassionate. His personal appearance is quiet and gentlemanly; and even the Liberal party, to whom he is one of the most formidable opponents, speak of him with the utmost respect both as a man and a politician. His family is very ancient, being one of the old Magyar nobility; but the branch to which he belongs is untitled, although the Count Anthony Majláth, the present Hungarian Chief-Chancellor at Vienna, is his relative.

M. George Majláth commenced his political career at Presburg, where he filled the most obscure diplomatic offices, and won his way up to

his present rank entirely by his own talents. He was elected by the municipality of the county, and afterwards appointed by the Sovereign to the high post which he at present occupies. He also represented Presburg at the Diet; and while he sat at the Lower Table frequently opposed his father, who was *Personalis*, and consequently President of the Chamber.

During the important session which lasted from 1825 to 1827, he was himself nominated *Personalis*, and fulfilled the difficult duties of his office with great judgment. Subsequently he was summoned to Vienna by the Emperor, and made Counsellor of State for the Home Department; whence he was ultimately removed to be invested with the honours of *Judex Curiæ*, as successor to the Count Cziráky, who had lost the confidence of the nation, and whom the Government considered it expedient to replace by a more popular individual. Unfortunately, in the present position of affairs, all Crown-officers soon forfeit their popularity from the very nature of their posts, however amiable the persons may be who

hold them, and it consequently does great honour to M. Majláth that his high and eminent qualities are admitted by all parties. He appears to be about sixty years old, has a fine forehead, a keen eye, and carries himself with considerable dignity. He is also Supreme Count (Deputy Lieutenant) of the county of Houth.

Below M. Majláth sits the Baron Ignatius Eötvös of Vásáros-Námény, High Treasurer of the Realm, and Supreme Count of the County Sáros. In person he is small, in manner quick and energetic, speaking several languages with great fluency, and possessed of a vast fund of general information. He declaims with remarkable facility, and often at great length; and although a placeman is by no means either violent or intolerant in his politics.

Near the Prince-Primate also sits John Ladislaus Pyrker of Felsö-Eör, Archbishop of Eger (Erlau), a prelate descended from an old Hungarian family, who was formerly Patriarch of Venice; and is remarkable as the author of several Epics in the German language. In person he is tall,

thin, and grave-looking; and his voice is unusually deep.

Among the most interesting members of the Magnates is the Count Joseph Téléki of Szék, one of the Guardians of the Sacred Crown, President of the Hungarian Academy, and Representative of the first Protestant family in the kingdom. In person he is singularly prepossessing, and in character unimpeachable; his attainments are considerable, and his popularity unbounded. He speaks seldom, but never without producing great effect.

The Count Ladislaus Téléki, also of Szék, his step-brother, is a young man of extraordinary promise, full of information and strong practical sense. His declamation is good, and his judgment sound. He is one of the landmarks of the Protestant party.

Baron Nicholas Vécsey of Vécse and Hajnácskö, Supreme Count of Szathmár, is remarkable for his straight-forward untemporising mode of expressing his sentiments. This gentleman was the original proposer of the canal to unite the Danube

with the Theiss, of which Baron Sina, the Viennese banker, who has large landed estates in Hungary, is to be one of the most extensive shareholders.

Count Charles Esterházy of Galantha, Supreme Count of Tolna, is the substitute of the Count Batthyány in his duties as Master of the Horse, (the last-named nobleman being unable from his advanced age to fulfil them,) and hence always carries in the Diet an ivory-headed staff. His duties consist in enforcing silence during the debates; arranging the order of any public ceremony; and assigning lodgings to the members of the Diet, &c.* Count Charles Esterházy is one of the finest-looking men in the Hall, about the middle size, with an erect and stately carriage, dark hair, and regular features. He formerly served in the Austrian army, and is said in consequence to make a bad Deputy-Lieutenant, having

* An explanation will be hereafter given of the singular custom of compelling the householders of Presburg to receive the Magnates into their dwellings gratuitously during the sittings of the Diet.

created great confusion and displeasure in his county by endeavouring to control the votes on the occasion of the last election, as he would have done his troops at a general muster. His voice is remarkably fine and flexible; but like all the Magyar nobility who have been much about the court of Vienna, he speaks his native language very imperfectly, and with considerable difficulty.

The Baron Anthony Maithényi of Kesscleökeö, Supreme Count of Lipto, is a slight, plain-looking man between forty and fifty years of age. He was not born a Baron, but has been recently created, it is said by purchase.* M. Maithényi is, when considered as a place-holder, extremely independent, frequently voting with the Opposition. He speaks with great eloquence and facility; and thoroughly understands the routine

* In Hungary, the price of a Count's title is four thousand silver florins (four hundred pounds) when the person who purchases it is of plebeian blood; but should he be of an ancient and privileged family, it costs only three thousand (three hundred pounds). That of a Baron is three thousand silver florins in the first case, and two thousand in the second. These *neubachene* (new-baked) Counts and

of the Chambers, having been the Vice-Count of a Comitat before he acquired his title, and member for the same county during one of the late Diets.

But I must no longer delay mention of Count Stephen Szechényi, who has won an European reputation which has made his name a watchword with the high-minded; and whose appearance greatly tends to deepen the feeling of admiration which his extraordinary career must naturally command. He has a dark, keen, eagle eye, softening, however, at intervals almost into sadness; heavy eyebrows, finely arched, and in perpetual motion, giving a character of extraordinary energy to his countenance; and one of those full, deep-toned, sonorous voices to which you cannot choose but listen. In common conversation he is fluent and demonstrative rather

Barons, as the Germans contemptuously designate them, are placed in a most disagreeable position. The patrician order despise them, and the untitled nobles (of whom there are many in the country) detest them for endeavouring to overstep themselves.

than logical; with a play of fancy, and a choice of words, which rivet the attention of his hearers. Being an Hungarian it were needless to add that he is an accomplished linguist; but the tact with which he avails himself of the forcible expressions or appropriate idioms of the different European languages, in order the more readily to work out his subject, is not the least charm of his conversation.

In the House he is earnest, rapid, and impassioned; and very graceful in his attitudes and movements; while such is the attention with which he is heard, that the accidental clanging of a sabre against the floor actually makes you start even in the midst of a dense crowd. Murmurs of applause universally drown his first words, and form an echo to his last; and it is not his least triumph that no member of the Chamber ever ventures to reply to one of his speeches, save the Judex Curiæ, and the Palatine himself.

I shall only particularise two more individuals of the Upper House; the Count George Andrásy of Kraszna-Horka, and Csik-Szent-Kizaly, the

Administrator of the County of Gömör, (in order to explain the nature of his office ;) and the Baron Joseph Eötvös, the son of the High Treasurer; lest I should weary my readers with the subject.

Administrators are a species of Vice-Supreme-Counts, who are appointed by the Government, when the Supreme Count himself is incapacitated either by his great age, or by other circumstances, from fulfilling his local duties, which consist principally in presiding at all County Meetings. He, however, retains his title until his death; and is generally succeeded by the individual who has officiated for him. The Count George Andrásy is tall, slight, and handsome; and a very agreeable orator.

Baron Joseph Eötvös is one of the prominent men of the day in Hungary, despite the disadvantage of youth and a handsome person, two attributes which frequently impede the progress of politicians. A few years ago he was an Ultra-Liberal, refusing even to answer to his title; and dreaming bright and impossible dreams of universal freedom and happiness. His hand was as open as his heart; but fortunately he possessed no less

judgment than enthusiasm; and as, gradually, he learnt to look with some misgiving upon his own generous scheme of world-wide emancipation and equality, he became more temperate and more practical in his views. He is still a Liberal, however, openly and fearlessly advocating the principles that he has adopted, despite the high office held by his father under the Government; and he is an immense acquisition to his party, being as richly gifted in mind as he is in spirit, and replete with talent and energy.

Near Count Szechényi sat the Batthyánys, the Esterházys, the Palfys, the Zichys, the Száparis, the Erdödis, and others of high mark; the young proud blood of the Magyar nobility. Nor could I forbear smiling as I looked down upon them from the gallery, at the arguments advanced by an English traveller with whom I was one day conversing on the subject of the Hungarian constitution, that Hungary never could be independent, because—"if left to themselves, the half-barbarous Magnates would cut each other's throats before the expiration of a twelvemonth"!

Had he told me that she did not possess either

internal strength or internal union sufficient for self-dependence; that with a lethargized commerce, defective laws, a mixed population, (each section jealous of the other,) a confusion of dialects, conflicting creeds doing the work of party, and an extensive Sclavonian frontier professing the religion of the Greek Church, fostered by a neighbouring power, and offering up prayers in their places of worship for the Czar of Russia under the designation of "our Emperor"—Had he told me that less than half of these reasons would have sufficed to render Hungary incapable of resistance to either her Turkish, her Austrian, or her Russian neighbours, I could at once have entered into his argument, and admitted its validity; but his vision of the "bloody barons" of the present century never struck me as more amusing than when, in the Hall of the Diet, I contemplated the highbred and gentlemanly nobles who were collected there, breathing courtesy instead of carnage, and dreaming, I suspect, of nothing less than feud and foray; however unwilling they may be to resign those precious privileges of national and personal freedom which were

so dearly purchased, and have been so long preserved.

It is extraordinary to reflect on the tenacity with which strangers persist in misjudging and misrepresenting the Hungarians both morally and politically, too often without having even sought, far less enjoyed, opportunities of comprehending and observing them, either individually or as a nation.*

* In order to prove how little is generally known of the true tone of Hungarian politics, I will quote here (for I shall probably find no more fitting place to introduce it) a passage from a work on Wallachia and Moldavia by M. Felix Colson, published at Paris only a month or two ago (1839), wherein the author proposes to give, together with some crude opinions on the country, a digest of the state of party principle among the Magyars. What ignorance of the subject, be it fairly asked, can be more gross than that which prompted the following straight-forward statement?

" Tout le mouvement politique des Madjars peut se diviser en trois partis; les optimistes, à la tête desquels se trouve le Comte Secheni, sont des députés attachés ou vendus à la cour de Vienne; et qui trouvent que tout est bien. Le second parti n'aime pas les Allemands: il veut le maintien de la constitution telle qu'elle est; il s'oppose aux prétentions de la cour de Vienne, qu'il accuse d'empiéter sur les priviléges des gentilshommes, tout en reconnaissant l'impossibilité de se détacher de l'Autriche; car il

A stir in the body of the Hall at length announced the approach of the Palatine; and immediately afterwards His Imperial Highness entered from a private door communicating with his

veut, avant tout, conserver la domination de la noblesse. Le troisième parti, quoique très peu nombreux, est composé des hommes les plus éclairés de la diète. Le petit nombre et l'isolement des Madjars effraie ce parti."

The same author, in treating of the Magyar nobles, makes two discoveries relatively to their privileged and social state, quite as startling as that which placed Count Stephen Szechényi at the head of the Royalist party. It seems to me proper to quote the passage, in order to prove the mischievous error of attempting to write on the internal economy and moral condition of a country, without careful investigation. The absurdity of the following paragraph is too great even to provoke a smile. M. Colson speaks of the Magyar noble.

" Il ne peut être jugé que par ses pairs, ni arrêté avant d'avoir été condamné; et même quand il a été jugé, et qu'il s'est mis sur le seuil de sa porte, en brandissant son sabre, et s'écriant 'Je proteste!' il peut faire recommencer procès jusqu'à trois fois; mais s'il est condamné la troisième fois, son opposition lui est comptée comme circonstance aggravante. L'Autriche a trouvé seulement le secret de faire accélérer les procès politiques; mais quant aux procès criminels la procédure est si longue qu'elle va plus d'une fois jusqu'à cent ans. Cette impunité entretient une telle anarchie, que beaucoup de gentilshommes exer-

apartments, preceded by his Chamberlain and two Gentlemen Ushers At the distance from which I saw him, he did not look more than fifty years of age, and it was necessary to remember that he

cent le métier de voleurs de grands chemins, surtout dans les comtés où les Madjars dominent."

I need only cite in contradiction to this gross (and it is to be hoped unconscious) calumny, the case of Baron Nicholas Wesselényni, (called by M. Colson *Vechelegni,)* who, like all other attainted or accused nobles, was tried, not by his peers, but by the Royal Chamber, or Upper Law Court; and who was many months in confinement previous to his condemnation: and, among several others, that of M. Kossuth, also attainted of treason, tried by the same Court, (against whose verdict there is *no* appeal, as was proved by the impotence of the efforts made by the States to obtain a reversion of his sentence,) and who was closely confined for thirteen months, and not permitted the use of writing materials, *before the decision of the tribunal was known;* a fact which suffices to prove that Austria has not, as the French author remarks, " trouvé le secret de faire accélérer les procès *politiques.*" As complete a refutation is afforded to the statement that " quant aux procès criminels, la procédure est si longue qu'elle va plus d'une fois jusqu'à cent ans," in the instance of Count Francis Bellesnáy, now in the prison of Pesth for murder; who was tried and sentenced within a few months after the crime was committed; although the powerful interest of the Prince-Palatine was exerted in his be-

must have numbered nearly twenty more, ere I could bring myself to admit the fact. He is con-

half. The deduction of M. Colson with which my quotation concludes is very ingenious; and his localizing the haunts of the noble highwaymen serves admirably to round off the period. It was already well known that the Hungarian Magnates readily welcome the traveller to their homes, and exercise towards him all the courtesies of willing hosts, but it was reserved for M. Colson to degrade them into banditi. Marshal Marmont, in his book of Travels, has greatly wronged the Hungarians; but he has never suffered himself to commit extravagancies like those of his countryman. The spirit of party has tinged his opinions, and distorted his views; the bias of the work is palpable; but M. Colson has gone out of his way to diffuse incorrect and injurious notions of a people about whom he evidently knows nothing; and not content with arguments on the Austrian cabinet, which, like Penelope's web, are one hour woven only to be unwrought the next, has permitted himself to put forth a tissue of false statements, calculated to do an infinity of mischief from the *à plomb* and decision of their style. Further quotation were needless; or it would be quite as easy to refute his assertions respecting the total want of original writers and of elementary works in Hungary, the emptiness of the National Theatres, and a score of other errors, but enough has been already said upon the subject; and I now leave those who know *anything* of the country under discussion to decide on the value of M. Colson's information.

siderably taller than his nephew the Emperor, with a great deal of individual character about the expression of his head. His features are long and sharp like those of all the Hapsbourg family, throughout the whole of whose members there is a remarkable resemblance; but habits of deep thought and keen enquiry have given a tone to the countenance of the Palatine which is wanting to several of his august relatives.

Nothing can be more dignified than the manner in which he presides at the Diet. Even when the tenor of the debate becomes at times less temperate than its wont, he listens attentively and courteously to each party alike; and the only symptom of impatience that ever escapes him is that occasionally he passes a pen rapidly through his hand several times in succession; after which he continues as calm and as motionless as before, however displeasing the arguments may be to which he is compelled to listen.

I was fortunate enough to hear the Palatine speak the first time that I visited the Hall. As I have elsewhere remarked, he retained his seat,

and addressed the meeting in Latin. His voice is low, but very agreeable; and his enunciation so distinct that not a word which he utters is lost even in the gallery. The attention with which he is heard is earnest and eager; and when the extreme and peculiar difficulty of his position is considered, it must be admitted that no prince could have administered more even-handed justice between the King and the Nation, or have studied to secure a good understanding between a sovereign and his people, more judiciously and perseveringly than the Archduke Joseph.

I cannot give a better proof of the sense which is entertained of this fact by all parties in the kingdom, than by quoting a passage from the speech of Count Szechényi on the first occasion when I heard him speak in the Diet. "The Country was fully sensible," he said, "of its great obligations to the Palatine. It was a misfortune for Hungary that such a prince was not immortal, for it was impossible that she could ever know a better."

In such a position as that of the Emperor's

uncle, I repeat, it is indeed a triumph to be able to adopt as a motto: *Audi alteram partem!*

The tribute of the Liberal Magnate to the Austrian Palatine was received as it deserved to be, with a volley of enthusiastic cheers from the whole house.

CHAPTER XX.

HUNGARIAN LEGISLATIVE TALENT—M. DE DEÁK—HUNGARIAN NAMES—HIS STYLE OF ORATORY—M. DE KLAUZÁL—M. DE BEÖTHY—A MATRIMONIAL CONTROVERSY—M. DE BEZERÉDY—M. DE PAZMÁNDY—M. DE NAGY—COUNT SZECHÉNYI'S WRITINGS—POLITICAL POSITION OF M. NAGY—BARON DE WENKHEIM—M. DE SZENTKIRÁLYI—M. D'ANDRASSY—M. DE BALOCZY—M. DE PULSZKY—M. D'ÜRMENYI—M. DE ZSEDÉNYI—M. DE MAJLÁTH.

With a few striking exceptions the marked talent of the Hungarian Diet is to be found in the Lower Chamber. The untitled nobles, to whom legislature offers a brilliant and a befitting career for their sons, are careful to afford them every opportunity of qualifying themselves for the race they are to run: and thus they frequently, indeed generally, become able lawyers, even when they have no intention of following out the profession.

A knowledge of the routine of the States is acquired without difficulty, it being the constant custom of the young men to attend the meetings of the Chambers, and to watch the proceedings, in order to perfect themselves in elocution, and to acquire a correct knowledge of the progress of public affairs; a privilege but scantly possessed by the people generally, who, indeed, display considerable indifference on the subject, and frequently do not know either the names or political principles of their public men; a fact which is easily to be accounted for by the want of any journal authorised to publish the proceedings of the States. Thus, when a great measure has been carried, it is commented on and canvassed in the county-towns, whence it spreads slowly and languidly through the country; and the Chambers are then once more left to "fight the good fight" as they see fit, over all the minor points which they may deem it necessary to contend.

A want of any continuous and regular method of participating in their labours, even ideally, necessarily blunts the interest which the people

would otherwise take in the efforts of their legislators; and damps the enthusiasm which they must, under other circumstances, feel for many of the very able individuals who sit at the Lower Table in the present Diet.

In order that strangers may be enabled to form a correct and unbiassed idea of the Hungarian Diet, and particularly of the Chamber of Deputies, it is necessary that they should divest themselves of the prejudices which they have too frequently imbibed before entering the country; for it has long been a system with the Viennese Cabinet to represent the Legislative body of the Magyars as men imbued with all the selfish usages and ignorant feelings of the middle ages; clinging to the superannuated privileges of the aristocracy, and obstinately inimical to reform of every description, however much its tendency might benefit the people.

The history of the last Session proves the fallacy of this statement; for the Lower Table, although principally filled by individuals of noble family, and elected by the Aristocracy, without impulsion from the Government, or any popular demonstra-

tion whatever; without even the encouragement of a free press, capable of explaining and appreciating their views, but simply convinced of the justice and necessity of liberal reforms; were ready to make the most important concession to the peasantry, in seeking to enfranchise them from Seigneurial jurisdiction, and all *corvées* and *urbarial* burdens. And, after a vehement contention, during which the great majority of the Deputies defended with enthusiastic perseverance the natural rights of a class of which they had ever been considered the oppressors, it was the Government itself which prevented the salutary amendments so much desired throughout the nation, by the refusal of the royal sanction.

It was on this occasion that Francis Kölcsey, the celebrated poet and orator, whose death was a public calamity, said with energy: "At this moment the Hungarian Legislature has washed out the foul stain which has hitherto degraded it in the eyes of all civilized Europe, by its oppression of nine millions of fellow-creatures!"

It is necessary to detail these circumstances in order to afford a correct conception of the position

of the *Liberal* party in Hungary, which combines resistance to the illegal measures of the Government with progressive action. The Opposition, while acknowledging, and desirous of correcting the defects of an outworn Constitution, and realizing the less exclusive ideas of the age even at the expense of their own order, still hold themselves compelled to resist with all their strength the illegal innovations of the Government; and in this sense it is decidedly Conservative; a seeming anomaly which has been remarked elsewhere.

Perhaps the most distinguished member of the Second Table at this time (1839-40) is M. François de Deák of Kehida,* Deputy for the County of

* After many Hungarian names one or more words are annexed, as in the instance of M. de Deák. In the Magyar language the *Predicat* precedes the family-name, which is in its turn followed by the Christian name: thus the Hungarians write *Kehidai Deák Ferencz;* the letter *i* at the termination of the word Kehida signifying *of,* the family of Deák having for centuries been lords of Kehida, in the County Zala. Many families exist who have sold their estates, and others who were despoiled of them during the terrible wars of which Hungary was so long the theatre; but they nevertheless retain their original *predicat;* indeed the more ancient among them, even

Zala, who became famous by his earnest and able advocacy of the measures proposed during the Diet of 1832 for ameliorating the condition of the peasantry.

For the last ten years the idea has been conceived by the more liberal and enlightened Hungarians, of enabling the serfs to participate in the benefits of the constitution; and this hope was deepening among them when the Diet of 1832 was convoked; in which such strenuous efforts

where reduced in circumstances and making no other pretension, never omit in their signature to append this localizing dignity.

In some instances families possess two or more estates, when they attach the designation of both to their names, as for example: Zsadányi és Török-Szent-Miklósi Almásy Joszef, (M. Joseph Almásy of Zsadány and Török Szent-Miklos). In Latin it is expressed thus: Princeps Paulus Esterházy *de* Galantha, as in the French. Very few of the newly created nobles use the *predicat*, except when signing legal papers. Where the family name has been derived from the estate, (which is the case with many of the most ancient Magyar nobility,) the family name ends with a *y*, according to the old style, and the *predicat* with an *i*, thus: Batthyáni, Grof Batthyány (Count Batthyány of Batthyán); and in this case it is expressed in Latin Comes Batthyány *de eadem*. These *predicats* origi-

were made to effect this desirable and vital object.

Something was indeed achieved by those efforts, but not all that had been anticipated; and consequently the subject was resumed with the same zeal and resolution by the present Diet.

Foremost among the advocates of liberty and patriotism stood Francis de Deák, of whom it may be truly said that his steadiness of purpose is equal to his talent. During years of retire-

nate in the Royal Donations, the King of Hungary being, not only entitled but compelled, to bestow the estates which revert to the Crown on the failure of heirs male, or on the extinction of a family, upon some other Hungarian subject; who, even if he were not previously noble, becomes so by this Donation, and takes his *predicat* from the estate. These transfers are by no means infrequent in Hungary, in consequence of the inability of females to inherit or to perpetuate their family dignities; a fact which is strangely at variance with the principle which continues to noble widows all the privileges formerly enjoyed by their husbands; and such unbounded authority over their estates and revenues as to render their sons dependent upon them during their lives. To this social power is added the political privilege to which I have already alluded, of sending their Proxies to the Diet.

ment at Kehida he prepared himself by intense study, and a course of reading as persevering as it was judicious, for his legislative duties; and when, at the last Diet, he took his seat among the Deputies, he at once distinguished himself, and carrying along with him the admiration of all parties, was adopted by that of the Liberals as their leader.

M. de Deák is a very fine man, of about five-and-thirty years of age, perfectly Hungarian in appearance, with large brown eyes of extraordinary brilliancy, and a strong manly voice, which he manages with great skill. His style of speaking is very classical.

Whatever may be the subject of debate, he always considers it under three different phases. He first treats it legally; commencing his speech slowly, and calmly, reasoning upon and explaining every point as he proceeds; and then, after a momentary pause, of which the Chamber constantly avail themselves to overwhelm him with acclamations, he resumes his discourse, taking up the question in its political bearing, and considering

it only under that aspect. This is the strong point of M. de Deák's oratory, for he generally sinks, ere he ceases speaking, into a vein of melancholy so deep and touching that it is impossible to remain indifferent or unmoved by his eloquence. His voice subsides into a murmur; his eye, lately so bright, grows dim: he no longer reasons, he only *feels*, and compels his auditors to feel with him; he neither indulges in sarcasm nor in reproach; he does not irritate the evil passions of his hearers: but he never fails to awaken towards himself the warmest sentiments of sympathy and trust. To these advantages he joins great parliamentary tact, and the most unflinching honesty.

It is said that the Government have offered him both place and power, but he has constantly refused to sacrifice his principles. His private life is simple and exemplary, his labour and his leisure being alike devoted to the interests of his country. He is unmarried, and resides on the estate at Kehida with his brother M. Anthony de Deák, who was also a distinguished member of the Lower Table in some of the preceding Diets, where he sat as Deputy for the same county now

represented by the subject of our sketch; where they live in such affection that they have never divided their patrimony.

Among those who zealously support the principles of reform, the most eminent individual after M. de Deák is M. Gabriel de Klauzál, Deputy of the County of Csongrád; and he is in fact the most earnest and persevering advocate of liberty of speech and election in the Chamber, and the most indefatigable in his efforts to obtain redress for their violation. As an orator he is very dissimilar to his colleague; for the prevailing feature of his speeches is sentiment, and he is the most effective when he seeks to excite the feelings of his hearers.

It was singular to witness the effect of his oratory upon the assembly, as he poured forth his patriotic melancholy in a voice that almost seemed to tell the tale which ignorance of the language rendered a sealed volume to our party. His hearers appeared to be absorbed, as his gushing eloquence swept onward, carrying their sympathies along with it at will. His arguments and ideas are said to be clear, just, and dispassionate; but his logic

less assured, and his mental resources less vast than those of M. de Deák. His eloquence is continuous and sustained; but he is less happy when called suddenly and unexpectedly into action in reply to a political adversary; nor does he overwhelm with new and startling views; analyse and dissect a question in its various phases; and fling back upon his opponent a world of words, of which no one could be omitted without injury to the subject, with the rapidity, ease, and perspicuity of M. de Deák.

The melancholy so characteristic of the national temperament, is the great charm and power of M. de Klauzál's eloquence. It is the lever with which he raises or depresses the spirits of his hearers. Flashes of chivalric feeling, suddenly yielding to deep and painful thought, render his speeches very similar in nature and effect to the music of the country; and even as to that, every Hungarian heart responds to the spell of the magician. His voice is on ordinary occasions clear and sonorous; but when he abandons himself to this strain of patriotic lament, it becomes deep and hollow as though it rose from the earth beneath his feet;

and the effect of this dull wailing sound never fails to silence every whisper within the Hall. He is about forty years of age; short, and slight, with immense black eyes, and a countenance quite Italian in its character. When much excited he becomes ashy pale, and every ray of light fades from his eyes.

It must not, however, be implied, because so much stress has been laid on the style of M. de Klauzál's speaking, that he possesses no other merit. He has great parliamentary knowledge, and his enthusiasm, perseverance, and devotion to his political creed, never fail to call him into fresh action whenever his party appear to be losing ground. Frequently when the Government members are anticipating a triumph, and looking with complacency on the yielding of their opponents, it is De Klauzál, who rallying into renewed power, infuses fresh determination into his friends, and ensures the success of the measure.

It was M. de Klauzál who during the present Diet (1839) proposed an address to the King, praying him to set at liberty the five hundred Italian prisoners who, notwithstanding the am-

nesty published on the occasion of the coronation at Milan, are still confined in the fortress of Szeged in the county which he represents; a proposition adopted almost unanimously by the Chamber. This gentleman (like M. de Deák) is a Catholic.

One of the most singular and fearless members of the States is M. Eugene de Beöthy, who represents for the second time the County of Bitax. He is a short stout man, between forty and fifty years old, with a firm and powerful voice, and speaks with great fluency and fire. He is, although himself a Catholic, the scourge of the Romanist clergy, and the champion of Protestantism.

He it was who at several of the late Diets was the first to propose the equalization of religious rights: and he has afforded practical proof of his sincerity by marrying a Protestant Lady; an enormity which so incensed the Bishop of his diocese, that he refused to solemnize the marriage, or to bestow the bridal blessing usual in that church. His determination was conveyed in a very intemperate letter to M. de Beöthy, little calculated to do credit either to himself or to his cause; a fact

which the reply of the Deputy was well suited to make him feel.

In this answer M. de Beöthy said that he should never fail to regret the example of intolerance which had been given by one of the heads of the Church to which he belonged; but that as far as regarded himself, he was perfectly satisfied both with the prayers and the blessing of the Reformed Minister; and that he doubted not that both he himself, and the lady whom he had the honour to call his wife, would be quite able to fulfil their duties to society and to each other, even although deprived of the countenance of a Catholic churchman.*

* The year 1840 commenced under brighter auspices. The question of religious tolerance and inter-communion was again agitated, and not without producing very beneficial results. Not only mixed marriages are now to be permitted, on the understanding that the children are to be educated according to their sex, in the respective religion of their parents; but—and this has long been a great desideratum—the Catholic youth are to be allowed to study in the Reformed Colleges where they desire to do so, without interference from the priesthood. M. de Beöthy may doubtlessly appropriate much of the credit of these ameliorations.

The Bishop and Chapter of Nagy-Várad (Grosswardein) spent enormous sums to prevent his election, and in the first instance they succeeded. At the termination of a few weeks, however, one of the Deputies who had been returned by the influence of the hierarchy having resigned his seat, M. de Beöthy was elected almost without opposition.

We chanced to be in the Hall of the States when he entered to take his place, and I shall never forget the enthusiasm with which he was received. The shouts commenced on his descent from his carriage, and grew louder and louder as he was rather carried than accompanied up stairs into the Chamber. The Count Széchényi was the first who met him at the doors, and their greeting was like that of brothers.

In his youth he was a Captain in the Army, but (like the noble just named,) carried away by the enthusiasm of the Diet of 1825, he resigned his military career for that of legislation. From that period he has neither halted nor swerved from his purpose; and the warmth with which he imbibes every idea of political and religious liberty, instead

of becoming less ardent as he increases in years, seems rather to heighten.

In 1836-37 the County of Bihar, which had hitherto been liberal in its principles, fairly ratted *en masse;* and M. de Beöthy, who possesses there a large landed-property, lost his influence in the public meetings. In the same hall where each of his sentiments had been once received with acclamations, and where on the close of the Diet of 1832-36 it had been decided to elect him as *perpetual representative* of the Comitat, (an honour which however he was too prudent to accept;) in that same hall which had hitherto only been the scene of his perpetual triumphs, each of his speeches suddenly became a distinct defeat, and was received with the most discouraging silence, or with unequivocal tokens of dissatisfaction; such had been the influence of the priesthood. But De Beöthy battled on undismayed; and ultimately succeeded in regaining the county to the cause of the Liberals.

The Comitat of Bihar is the largest in the country; its extent exceeds two hundred square miles, and this fact gives additional im-

portance to the sentiments of its representative. His figure as I have already stated is not imposing, but his face glows with health and vigour, and there is an expression of determination and defiance about him which accords well with his bold and uncompromising nature. His eyes are full of fire, and his action is earnest and energetic. His style of oratory perfectly responds to his appearance; it is replete with courage, frankness, and force. He never spares his opponent, be he whom he may; he neither conciliates, nor temporises, smiles, nor cajoles; his attack is real and sharp: he taunts, he piques, he wounds; and when carried away by passion, he annihilates. None venture to brave him, for he returns every sarcasm with interest. He never asks anything from the Government as a favour that he can hope to demand as a right. He uses no precaution, but is vehement and impetuous in his attacks on the Administration, and above all, on the priesthood, although he is himself a Catholic. He declaims with great volubility and perspicacity, and is inexhaustible in wit and sarcasm. He cares little for ancient memories or musty laws, and is quite the man of the century,

and the advocate of expediency. In his parliamentary combats he triumphs less by calculation than by his readiness in grasping every phase of the subject. He is the leader of the liberal party in all questions of religion, and the most valiant champion of the Protestant cause. The priesthood detest him, as a sheep which has escaped the fold; and it is certain that when he is waging war on the Bishops and Prelates he is in his element; venting sarcasms, taunts, and witticisms without number, each more stinging than the other.

M. Etienne de Bezerédy represents for the second time the County of Tolna. His election was a trial of strength between the Government and Liberal parties. The Supreme Count Charles Esterházy had received secret orders from Vienna to prevent at any price the election of De Bezerédy, and he is said to have so thoroughly yielded obedience to the mandate as to have employed alike deception, corruption, and even fraud. The investigation which was demanded by the Comitat, although presided by a Royal Commissioner, proved that the Count had caused the men of his party to vote twice over, and that he proclaimed the Go-

vernment candidates before the scrutiny had terminated, and when a number of De Bezerédy's partisans had not yet voted; after which he immediately left the city in order to avoid the necessity of retracting his decision.

The County protested against this election, and refused to furnish the new Deputies with their credentials. They accordingly started for Presburg without them, and having been accepted by the Archduke Palatine as President of the States, despite the protest of the County and the absence of their certificates, they took their seats.

The voters of Tolna, however, only waited until the occasion of a public meeting to revoke the election, and to replace the Government Members by Etienne de Bezerédy and Nicholas Perczel.

Bezerédy is between forty and fifty years of age, of middling height, with a sharp face, a bald head, and altogether much of the character which we see in the busts of the old philosophers.

He is well read in all European literature, particularly the English, the French, and the German; and his speeches discover more traces of an acquaintance with the institutions and habits of

other countries than those of any other member of the Chamber. In fidelity to his principles, in consistent logic, and in moral sentiment, no Deputy excels, and few equal him. His delivery is too rapid for true oratory, but he seeks rather to serve his cause than to shine individually. When he speaks his whole countenance flushes, and his eyes burn with light. You can read upon every feature the intense enthusiasm of his nature, and his perfect conviction of the value of all the views which he advocates.

Such indeed is his ardour, that to a stranger he ever appears to be discussing a question in which his life and happiness are alike bound up; and this is the great defect of his declamation; for he flings as much passion into every discussion, however comparatively unimportant, as he could possibly display, were the welfare of the whole nation dependent on the result; and thus having habituated his hearers to the fiery torrent of his style, it produces considerably less effect than it would otherwise command when it is worthily called forth.

The purity of his moral character, and his conscientious rectitude, have, however, long com-

manded the respect of all who know him, even although they may be opposed to him in politics; and have gained for him from his colleagues the flattering *soubriquet* of " Eternal Justice."

M. Denés de Pazmándy who represents the County of Komárom (Comorn) is a man already passed sixty, of weak health, bowed down less by age than by his patriotic services, and who has grown old without a stain upon his name. He is reverenced by his colleagues, less for the brilliancy of his talents, than because he has pursued a long and difficult political career without having bartered his good name, or burthened his conscience. He has never striven for the reputation of an orator; it is the experience of long years in the various Diets at which he has assisted, accompanied by sound judgment and perfect uprightness of purpose, which have won for him the entire confidence of his friends; and he has great influence, particularly in the preparatory conferences of the Liberal party.

In the course of a discussion he utters severe and biting truths calmly and quietly, as though he sought to convince rather than to wound; his style is terse and concise; and it is asserted that

among the elder Hungarian legislators M. de Pazmándy is the only one of whom it may be said *vir consilio plenus.*

M. Paul de Nagy has been the Deputy of Sopron (Oedenburg) since the year 1805, and is one of the most remarkable men of the Diet. It was he who first demonstrated the power of public discussion when exerted for the interests of the nation.

In 1790-91 the constitution of the country, overthrown during the reign of Joseph II., was entirely re-established. This constitution, developed for eight centuries, and closely linked with the national habits, was based on privileges and prerogatives totally incompatible with the more extended ideas of liberty which were rapidly gaining ground in other countries; and in Hungary very few statesmen yet felt its defects, but rather loved it the better because it had been only recently restored.

Paul de Nagy was the first who ventured to express ideas and views of liberalism such as yet had never found voice in an Hungarian senate, but he stood alone; and wisely deciding that he was pre-

mature in his attempt, he condensed all his powers on the effort to preserve Magyar nationality, and to defend it from the invasion of the German manners and dialect; as well as to deliver it from the thrall of the Latin language, by the official use of which the native tongue had become neglected and suppressed. His principle of action was clearly defined in an expression of which he made use more than once in public: "Liberty may be regained in twenty-four hours, but nationality once lost requires centuries to restore it."

The years 1823-24 were disastrous to Hungary. The Government endeavoured to levy troops and to augment the imposts without the concurrence of the Diet, which had not been convoked since 1811. Some of the counties complied, others resisted, and the magistrates yielding only to force, resigned their offices *en masse*. In the public meetings of the Comitats many energetic voices were raised for the defence of the violated rights of the nation, and Paul de Nagy was one of the most intrepid contemners of this administrative innovation.

The public excitement increased from day to

day, until at length the Government became alarmed at the effect of its own measures, and reluctantly yielding to the earnest and imperative voice of the country, assembled the Diet of 1825-27; when the late King Francis, moved by the representations of his Hungarian subjects, solemnly recognised the error that he had committed through the evil counsels of his ministers, and pledged his royal word that a similar event should never again occur.

In this Diet De Nagy was the leader of the Opposition; but while others were rejoicing over the re-establishment of the constitution which many had looked upon as lost, he only remarked to his colleagues: "Gentlemen, we believe ourselves to be secure, but we never shall be so while we thrust nine millions of our countrymen beyond the ramparts of that constitution."

The effect produced by this bold statement was a murmur of astonishment and indignation throughout the whole legislative assembly. Men's spirits were not yet ripe enough to comprehend the vastness of such an idea; it seemed at the moment an outrage against the very constitution which they had

just regained. What were to become of their cherished privileges if the views of De Nagy were to be carried out, and the emancipation of the serfs made a national measure? There were too many individual interests involved in this question for it to become readily popular; a deep shadow had hung too long over the internal laws and habits of the Magyar nobles for a single phrase to make day across it; and the attempt of M. de Nagy only afforded another proof, had any such been wanting, that the orator is less able to secure the success of a new idea than the writer. Men listen, marvel, and forget, as the speaker pours out his views and opinions—one thought or sentiment is "pushed from its stool" by that which succeeds it; and as the tide of eloquence flows along, the hearers glide onward with it: whereas the open volume presents the opportunity of recurrence to the subject; and written words ever carry with them more weight than those upon which the eye cannot rest.

In this trite and simple truth lies the great secret of Count Stephen Szechényi's extraordinary influence over his countrymen. Conscious that

such was the case, *he* first resolved to write what had been uttered more than once without visible effect; and the correctness of his judgment was at once evident. He told his countrymen truths, often disagreeable truths, but he afforded them the opportunity of dwelling upon them, and they finished by admitting their validity. He rallied them on their defects and weaknesses, and having succeeded in making them laugh at their own errors, thus went far in teaching them to correct them. His writing in the course of a few years effected a radical alteration in public opinion, and all the youth of the nation became converts to his doctrines. The ideas, the energy, and even the talent exerted, had been quite as great in more than one instance among the Deputies, but their method of enforcing them had been less efficacious than that of the Count.

The Diet of 1832-36 boasted more brilliant orators than M. de Nagy, men of more extensive learning, and of more decided political views, but his efforts to emancipate the peasantry will ever distinguish him as a true patriot; while his speech on the abolition of the Urbarial exac-

tions is said to be one of the most classical examples of Hungarian eloquence.

He is more than sixty years old; with grey hair, bald upon the brows, but animated and vigorous in appearance; with a singularly bright clear eye, and a voice peculiarly agreeable. His memory is extraordinary, and the facility and tact with which he avails himself of its resources, render his discourses free from the monotony of phrase and expression so common in parliamentary oratory. He is at once witty and logical; convincing by his argument, and amusing by his sallies. He replies to a sarcasm only by a *bon mot*, and generally succeeds in infusing a portion of his own good-humour even into his opponent.

His position in the present Diet it is difficult to define, and his motive for abandoning the Liberal party is unknown. Some attribute his secession to a feeling of jealousy in seeing himself superseded as leader of the Opposition: others assert that the Government, after relieving him from extensive pecuniary embarrassments, have

settled upon him a considerable annual income. In mercy to a bygone and brilliant career we will trust that the first suggestion is the true one. Such a man should not be bought with gold. It is more honourable both to himself and the Government to believe that no such sordid consideration won him to their ranks. *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit;* and poor human nature will have her moments of spleen and jealousy, and wounded vanity, be the victim who and what he may.

M. de Nagy is meanwhile by no means the direct organ of the Government; sometimes he is even one of its most bitter opponents; but at others, by a parliamentary tact which is the result of long experience, and great aptitude of mind, he succeeds in throwing the ranks of the Opposition into confusion; while he not unfrequently, under the pretext of conciliating the adverse parties, gives to the question under debate a turn favourable to the Administration, at the very moment when the Liberals believe themselves certain of a sweeping majority.

Many and bitter have been the reproaches which M. de Nagy has been compelled to endure. in consequence of his political defalcation; but it is only due to him to add that on two most essential points he has ever been consistent—Hungarian Nationality, and the Emancipation of the Serfs.

The Baron Adelbert de Wenkheim holds much the same position in the Lower Chamber as the Baron Joseph Eötvös does in the Upper. It is the bright promise of the future as well as the reality of the present. Not yet thirty years of age, he is Deputy and Vice-Count of the Comitat of Békes. His ardent temperament, his chivalric manners, his intrepid character, and his talent, have rendered his parliamentary *début* one of extreme popularity.

M. Maurice de Szentkirályi is rendered remarkable by the fact that he was the colleague of the Count Radáy in the representation of the Comitat of Pesth; and that in consequence of the refusal of the Government to allow that Noble to take his seat, he was, until the subsequent election of M. Dubravitsky, the only Deputy for

that jurisdiction.* His constituents could not, however, have fallen into better hands, for his loyalty proved equal to his talent: and his perseverance in sustaining the cause of his county, and in advocating the liberty of election, was so untiring as to earn for him from his party the soubriquet of *Gravamina*. M. de Szentkirályi is about thirty years of age.

The Government side of the Lower Chamber is inferior to that of the Opposition both in number and talent. Its great strength is in the Magnates. The most eminent among the Royalist Deputies is M. Jósef d'Andrassy, Representative of the County of Esztergom (Gran) and Councillor of the Hungarian Lieutenancy (Ungarische

* An account of this gentleman's election will be found in the Second Volume of the Work; these sketches, although appended to the description of the Diet, in order to render it more complete, having been only written on the eve of the Author's departure from Hungary, when she had made the acquaintance of several of the individuals therein named, and been assisted in compiling these slight notices by the kindness of others who knew them infinitely better, and whose impartiality and information were equally beyond question.

Statthalterei). He is moderate in his principles, temperate towards his opponents, and respected by the adverse party for his talent and uprightness; while, by his ability and intelligence, he has rendered essential service to the Government, where others by their vehemence and impetuosity would have provoked popular hatred. He rather declaims than speaks, but were he to abstain from this mannerism, and to adopt a more natural delivery, his admirable choice of words and magnificent voice would render him one of the first orators of the Chamber.

Andrassy is esteemed the leader of the Government Deputies, and he has organised his party with considerable success. He has also the merit of having shown himself to be the friend of the people, and the advocate of national progression where it did not interfere with the open or covert views of the Administration, (to which he is bound by his official employ,) or with the direct instructions of his County, which chances to be one of the most priest-ridden and ignorant in the country. M. d'Andrassy is about thirty-five years old, and extremely handsome.

M. Ladislaus de Balóczy, who represents the Comitat of Borsod, is Sécretary to the Circular Sessions. This gentleman has distinguished himself both by his pen, and the extraordinarily buoyant style of his eloquence. His sallies are endless, and his wit inexhaustible. He is so popular in the Chamber that his colleagues have presented him with a silver goblet in token of their esteem. He is about fifty years of age.

M. Francis de Pulszky, the Deputy for Sáros, is a young man of some three- or four-and-twenty, and already celebrated as a writer both in Hungarian and German. His German work on England entitled *Aus dem Tagebuch eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn* made much noise in Germany, and was reviewed in the "Foreign Quarterly." He is extremely well-informed for his years, but no great orator; and has disappointed the Liberal party, who expected to have attracted him to their banner.

M. Jósef d'Ürmenyi, who is at once Deputy and Vice-Count of the Comitat of Fejér (Stuhlweissenburg), is chiefly remarkable for his logical

argument, and singularly graceful action. He is in his thirty-third year.

M. Eduárd de Zsedényi who represents the County of Szepes (Zips) is the Secretary of the Hungarian Chancellery, and is celebrated for the boldness with which he braves all the attacks of the Opposition, the admirable method of his reasoning, and the clearness of his style.

I must also add to the Royalist orators M. de Majláth, the son of the Judex Curiæ, although rather for the promise that he gives, than for anything which he has yet achieved. He is still very young; but he is already listened to with an attention and respect commanded by the soundness of his legal knowledge, and the modesty with which he delivers his opinions. His countenance is full of intelligence; and his industry and application are said to be quite remarkable. Despite his youth, his political principles, as might be anticipated from the position of his father, are very decided; and should his future career prove as brilliant as his friends anticipate, by a realization of the promise of its commencement, he will hereafter be a formidable opponent to the Liberal party.

There are several other members of the Lower Table whom I should like well to chronicle; but as it is possible that my Magyar Legislative Gallery may prove less attractive to my readers than to myself, I reluctantly leave them unrecorded.

I trust, nevertheless, that enough has already been done to convince every one who takes an interest in the subject, that the Hungarian Diet is by no means the disorderly and irregular Assembly, which it has been too long the fashion to consider it.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EISEN-BRINDEL—ENVIRONS OF PRESBURG—BILLETING THE NOBILITY—RESTLESSNESS OF THE CITY—VISIT TO THE PALATINE—THE PRINCESS HERMINE—PROCESSION OF CIGAR-MAKERS.

THERE is a lovely spot, situated about three quarters of a league distant from Presburg, called the Eisen-Brindel; which, as its name implies, is the site of a mineral spring, that gushes into light in a narrow gorge of the mountain-chain which renders the landward landscape beyond the city so picturesque. Quitting the faubourg by the high-road to Moravia, in order to visit this pretty retreat, we drove along beside a small forest of oak and elm, and then striking off to the right, wound round the base of the heights through a dense wood of beeches, watered by occasional torrents, and opening into glades carpeted with wild-flowers. Nothing could be more delightful; the sun was sinking, and turn-

ing all beneath it into one golden glory; the gorge narrowed rapidly as we advanced, and the stillness was so perfect that we could feel it; not the rustling of a leaf, not the twitter of a bird, disturbed its dreaminess; and amid this summer calm we suddenly became land-locked, having before us, at the foot of the mountain-forest, the large, white, cheerful-looking boarding-house of the Eisen-Brindel, where invalids congregate during the season to drink the water, and wander amid the pure air of the hills.

This sweet spot is also a great attraction in the warm summer evenings to the fashionables of Presburg, with whom it is a favourite drive; and we accordingly came upon a train of empty carriages, whose fair owners were wandering through the woods. The spring is highly mineralised, and esteemed very efficacious for chronic diseases; the taste of the water is extremely disagreeable, and the teeth are "on edge" for some moments after it is swallowed; but its medicinal properties are much estimated, and the house is consequently crowded during the season. A good restaurant is established at the Eisen-Brindel,

and some shady gardens well supplied with tables tempt the visitors to an *al fresco* repast when the weather serves; while the recesses of the beech-woods lend a last charm to this beautiful mountain-retreat. This year the protracted sitting of the Diet had filled the gorge with rank and beauty, glad to escape for a time from the dusty streets and inconvenient *salons de réception* of the city.

In adverting to the mis-accommodation of the noble dames and damsels of Presburg, I must not omit to mention a fact with which I was particularly struck when it first came to my knowledge. All the families of the Magnates are quartered upon the inhabitants like a military force. A species of quarter-master-general is appointed by the Government, (this year it is Count Charles Esterhazy,) and he provides dwellings for all the noble members of the Upper Table who have not houses of their own in the city, and these their rightful owners are compelled to vacate in their favour; but as they are not expected to supply furniture of any description, the bare walls are all that are inherited by the titled legislators, and by

this arrangement the inconvenience is twofold—the owners of the houses are turned out of their homes for an indefinite period, and the temporary tenants have to furnish their dwellings on a risk, and to reside in this state of discomfort until the dissolution of the Diet. It is in short a sort of aristocratic encampment, from which the strangers are as glad to escape as the natives are to be rid of them; and the whole system is so arbitrary, and so contrary to justice, and that individual freedom on which the Hungarians pride themselves, that it is to be hoped it will soon be abolished altogether.

The inconvenience of so large an assembly in so small a city is palpable; but it is nevertheless certain that the inhabitants have a great right to complain of being coerced for the accommodation of the legislators, who are labouring to rid them of burthens much less oppressive; and the difficulty experienced by the Deputies in finding house-room, for that is literally all for which they dare to hope, is almost ludicrous. The hotels are overflowing; the boarding-houses are crowded; every little *gasthaus* rises into consequence; and

every street in the town is "frighted from its propriety."

On the whole I do not like Presburg, even in these, its palmy days: there is a *décousu*-ness about everything: and the aphorism of Madame de Staël that "on passe la moitié de sa vie á attendre," was never more forcible to me than during our residence in the City of the Diet; where every one seems waiting day after day for something which never comes, and even a drive or a visit to the Theatre is arranged with reservation. In short, it is impossible to feel settled for half-a-dozen hours. The very position of the city, nearly midway of Vienna and Pesth, makes everybody restless, for the distance is so trifling to either, that nothing is more easy than to create a necessity for being constantly on the road; and thus you part with an acquaintance in the evening, whom you expect to meet again on the morrow, and when that morrow arrives, you find that he has "sailed" off to Vienna, or "steamed" off to Pesth. A couple of days' recess at the *Landhaus* is always embraced as the opportunity of taking wing, and the consequence is a perpetual move-

ment, which it soon becomes fatiguing even to contemplate.

I was one morning honoured by a command from His Imperial Highness the Palatine, to wait on him before the opening of the Diet; and on reaching the private apartments, I was received by the Chamberlain in an outer room, and immediately announced to the Archduke, who with great condescension and kindness met me at the door, and seated me beside him upon the sofa. Great personages so easily win "golden opinions," that it will probably be expected that I am about to deliver a warm panegyric on His Imperial Highness; and I might surely be excused if I ventured to do so; but there are cases in which for many reasons—a feeling of grateful respect not being the least—it were mere impertinence to affect praise or admiration. It must suffice, therefore, that the Archduke gains considerably on a closer view, and particularly when conversing. In repose the expression of his face is thoughtful, and somewhat cold; but when he speaks, his countenance lights with his subject; and his voice being peculiarly agreeable, his

forehead strikingly fine, and his delivery very emphatic, he rivets the attention even when for the moment his exalted rank is forgotten in his subject.

I remained with His Imperial Highness about an hour; and have seldom spent one more agreeably. During our conversation he animadverted on Hungary; and spoke much of the "travellers' tales" disseminated by hurried and prejudiced tourists, who had compiled ill-digested volumes on the subject of a country whose transition-state had baffled their hasty and prejudging observation, with a justness of sentiment and earnestness of feeling, which proved how sincerely he had her best interests at heart.

I could not avoid reverting, as I listened to the Archduke, to an admirable remark made by a talented friend of mine, in allusion to this description of travellers. "They are the cause," he said; "that persons who have principle and independence enough to speak the truth, and to acknowledge that their previously-formed judgment of a country was erroneous, are treated as fable-mongers when they return home, and avow their new

convictions. People are fond of retaining their original impressions undisturbed; for it is much more easy and agreeable to go on thinking the same thing from year to year, than to adopt new views, and to admit amended convictions. Mere book-makers are quite aware of this weakness, and do not hesitate to profit by it: and thus, if it has been the fashion to cry down a particular country, they run through it, fixing upon its bad points—and where is the country without them? —and ingeniously contriving never to come in contact with any of its good ones; on the same principle as the eagle, which scents the carcase from afar off, keeps its eye steadily fixed on the spot where the garbage lies, and soars unheeding over palaces and cities, with the one foul odour in its nostrils!"

His Imperial Highness was kind enough to add that he hoped better things from me; and particularly desired me to visit as many of the châteaux of the nobility as possible during my residence in the country; assuring me that I should be warmly received wherever I went.

I soon discovered that there was no work of

any consequence, either in German, English, or French, on the subject of Austria or Hungary, which the Archduke had not read; and of those to which he alluded, he had evidently taken a very shrewd and dispassionate view.

I was sincerely sorry when the little silver clock upon the table struck eleven, the hour at which the Diet was to assemble, and that the Palatine rose as a signal that I might take my leave; for I had so frequently been assured that he was too Austrian, not only in blood but also in feeling, to take a *real* interest in the welfare of Hungary, that I was rejoiced at the opportunity which this interview had afforded to me of undeceiving several of my friends, on a subject of no mean importance to them and to their country.

Had there been other persons present during the conversation, I might have attributed many of his remarks to mere policy; but as we were *tête-à-tête* the whole time, I could not so misread the unaffected energy with which he spoke of Hungary—the land over which he has presided for so many years—which he has succoured in affliction—upheld in difficulty—and where so many have reason

to think of him with gratitude as well as respect. The position of the Palatine must have rendered his whole life a struggle against circumstances. As a German, he is regarded with mistrust: as the uncle of the Emperor, he is beyond the pale of national confidence: standing as it were on the step of the Hungarian throne, the seat above him is not the less occupied—he may will much which he lacks the power to accomplish; and the deficiency is nevertheless visited upon him as though he were a free and untrammelled sovereign. His position, both moral and political, is altogether invidious.

A spirit, a noble spirit of advancement, is abroad in Hungary. She begins once more to feel her strength, and to estimate the value of her internal resources. She sees her mountains rife with treasure, and her plains teeming with grain; she measures her hardy population against that of other lands, and there is food for triumph in the comparison. She remembers her past years of glory: and although there can scarcely be half-a-dozen enthusiasts mad enough, in the present day, to contemplate the expediency, or even the

possibility, of her becoming again an independent nation, relying upon her own resources, and able singly to make head against her enemies, still there are high and noble hearts beating in expectation of the hour when she shall be openly proclaimed what in reality she is—the principal and most powerful portion of the Austrian empire —the first in extent, in internal riches, and in historical associations and memories; and without which she would never have been restored to her present state of comparative splendour and security.

This may, indeed *must*, be conceded ere long: nor should the effort be a very severe one to the Government at Vienna; for until it *is* conceded, it is painful for the Palatine to be made the scapegoat of the malcontents.

When I had taken leave of the Archduke, I was by his desire conducted to the apartments of the Princess Hermine his daughter; from whom I experienced a reception no less distinguished and flattering than that of her Imperial father.

She is about two-and-twenty, of middling height, and with a most intellectual expression of head and

eye. She is not strictly handsome, but her countenance is very attractive from its sweetness. I found her surrounded by birds, and flowers, and sunshine; gentle, unaffected, and gracious. Her French, like that of the Archduke, is pure and perfect; and her conversation *spirituelle* and easy. This Princess is, without contradiction, one of the most accomplished in Europe: a fine linguist, a clever artist, a finished musician, well-read in every sense of the word; and above all, gifted with the rare talent of creating occupations and pursuits of home-interest, by which she preserves both herself and those around her from the tedium and ennui which are too often the accompaniments of greatness.

"*Ah, Madame, que la vie du château est triste!*" said a lively *dame d'honneur* to me one day, in one of the gayest capitals of Europe. I do not believe that the ladies who are about the Princess Hermine ever remember that theirs is *la vie du château.*

She is at present residing in Presburg with the Archduke, who remains in the city during the whole sitting of the Diet; and by the desire of His

Imperial Highness I am to have the honour of a presentation to the Archduchess Maria Dorothea on my arrival at Pesth. This distinguished lady, who is the third wife of the Palatine, is detained at the palace of Buda by her maternal duties, to which she is said to be devoted.

I must not omit to mention a very characteristic procession that one day traversed the city. It consisted (save the priests and officials,) entirely of women, who arrived in large covered waggons, gaily dressed and apparently in high spirits, to the number of perhaps two hundred; and as a great proportion of them alighted near our hotel, our curiosity was naturally excited; when on enquiry we discovered that they were cigar-rollers from the great tobacco manufactory of the frontier town of Altenburg, where about six hundred of them are employed in this single occupation. I do not know who are their patron saints, but they are three in number; and thus thrice a year they repair to Presburg to celebrate their anniversaries, nearly the whole of them being Hungarians, and consequently preferring to hold their festival in one of their own towns.

They had brought food with them; and as soon as they had heard a mass, and made the tour of the city with their banners, they departed in the greatest order; and setting the absurdity and superstition of the thing aside, it was really a pretty sight to watch them defile through the streets, with their gay-coloured vests and ribbons, and to listen to their shrill but not unpleasant chanting.

The fatigue which these misguided women undergo on these occasions is immense. They leave Altenburg before daylight in order to arrive at Presburg in time for the midday mass; and then after walking over half the town, they have to reascend their rude carriages and return to the frontier.

END OF VOL. I.

Joseph Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn-lane.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018